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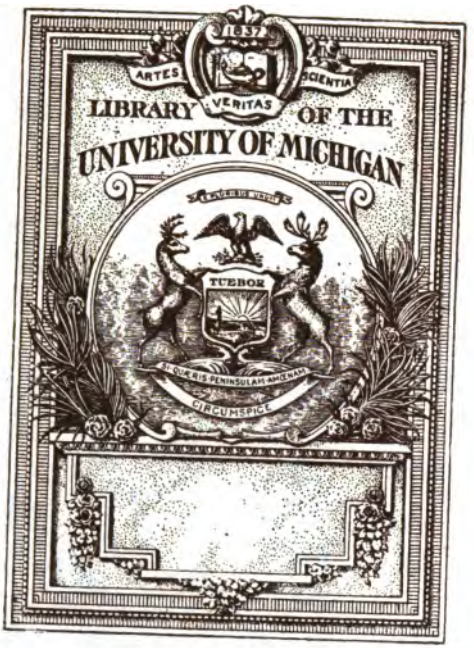

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Believe me
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Henry Wilkes.

MEMOIR

OF

HENRY WILKES, D.D., LL.D.,

HIS LIFE AND TIMES.

BY THE

REV. JOHN WOOD, of Ottawa

OTTAWA.

WITH PORTRAIT.

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PREFACE.

THE preparation of these Memoirs has been undertaken, amid pressing pastoral and secretarial duties, with much diffidence and hesitation. It had been expected that the task would have fallen to another and much abler pen, but that expectation having failed, I was applied to, by confidential friends of the family, in their behalf, to render this loving service to the memory of the departed. Very much do I appreciate the honour done me, yet I feel as if some apology were due for my yielding to their solicitation. Dr. Wilkes' *work* is his best memorial, and one is almost tempted to say, in view of any proposal to write his life, "If you would see his monument, look around you." It was felt by many, however, that a life and ministry so exemplary and useful ought not to be allowed to pass away without some permanent record of it, to stimulate and encourage those who are left to follow him. My aim has been, in part, to be the index-finger to point out to those who may come after us the monuments which, by his patient toil and energy, the Lord enabled him to raise throughout the land. "His record is on high;" let it also be, as far as we can trace it, where the churches and ministry may read and profit by it!

My life-long and intimate acquaintance with Dr. Wilkes, first as my pastor and counsellor, by whom I was led into the Kingdom, and into the ministry of the Gospel, and subsequently through the various official relations which we sustained towards each other, on the Missionary Committee, and in the Congregational Union, has greatly facilitated my work, and has lightened the labour through the interest I have felt in performing it It was his habit, almost yearly, for some years after my settlement in Brantford, to visit his parents and family—then resident there, and members of my church—when an exchange of pulpits, for several Sabbaths, was frequently arranged, so enabling me to visit the home of my boyhood in Montreal, where I distinctly remember hearing his first sermon in St. Maurice Street Church, in October, 1836.

When, therefore, it was urged, on these and other grounds, that I should become his biographer, my warm affection for his memory, and my grateful sense of personal obligation to him, forbade me decline the request; I yielded to the judgment of others, and the result is before the reader.

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Active and public as Dr. Wilkes' life was, and intimately connected as it was with all the principal Congregational movements of this country for the last half century, no proper account could be written of it that did not embrace more or less of our denominational history. Yet here was one of the difficulties of his biographer. To embrace it all, even in merest outline, was manifestly impossible; while to make selections, and references of a personal character, in one instance and not in another, probably equally noteworthy, might seem invidious. The alternative had to be chosen, however, and I have had to confine myself, as a rule, to churches and individuals with whom Dr. Wilkes had personally to do.

This story, as will be seen, is largely auto-biographical, the Doctor having left behind him a mass of material in the shape of "jottings"—written, and read to the family in the evening, as opportunity offered—from which selections have been made. I have to express my thanks to Mrs. Wilkes for valuable assistance in arranging and copying much of the material in hand.

Thanks are also due to Dr. Jackson for the valuable Introductory Chapter on our early history, as well as to the Rev. Charles Chapman, the Rev. David Russell of Glasgow, Dr. Gibson of London, Dr. Duff of Airedale College, and other gentlemen who have contributed to the volume.

JOHN WOOD.

OTTAWA, September 7, 1887.

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MEMOIR

OF THE

REV. HENRY WILKES, D.D.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

BY THE REV. S. N. JACKSON, M.D., OF KINGSTON.

CANADIAN Congregationalism is connected more intimately with the life of the Rev. HENRY WILKES than with that of any other man. For the past fifty years, or since 1836, when the Colonial Missionary Society was formed, he was chief among those who sought to plant and foster churches of the Congregational order throughout the Provinces of British North America. His labors, as the following chapters will show, were most abundant, and his zeal unbounded.

It was, however, impossible but that the church order of Oliver Cromwell and the Pilgrim Fathers, which exercised such a moulding influence upon the Commonwealth of England, and which, in transplanting itself to America, transformed the wilderness into a New England, should have been known and established at an early period in these colonies. It is the purpose of this introductory chapter to gather together in so far as possible these fragments of our earlier denominational history, that a biography so largely historical may in this respect be more complete.

Newfoundland, it would appear, was, during the reign of Queen Elizabeth, made a sort of penal colony where the British Government disposed of some of their troublesome Congregationalists, or Separatists, as they were then called. Gover-

nor Bradford tells us that "many of them had lain long in prison, and then were banished into Newfoundland, where they were abused, and at last came into the Low Countries." So pitiless was the persecution to which our spiritual ancestors were subjected in England, that about the year 1592 they petitioned the Queen to be allowed to emigrate in a body to Canada, a term then so indefinite, that it was as likely to include Newfoundland as any other part of the Western world. Mourt, in his "Relations," says that some of the Pilgrim Fathers had lived in this island. Further, we find that about the year 1645, George Downing, the first graduate of Cambridge, Mass., visited Newfoundland, and received an invitation from the Congregationalists to settle as their pastor. In 1660 the Rev. Richard Blinman, a New England divine, went there to take ship for England, and he, too, received an invitation to become the settled minister. From these facts it would appear that at a very early period in the history of Newfoundland, Congregationalism flourished in this oldest British colony.

The origin of the present church at St. John's dates back to 1775, and was brought about through the instrumentality of a pious soldier, a sergeant of the Royal Artillery, named John Jones. He was born in Wales, in 1737, of parents who were devout Nonconformists. Enlisting at twenty he rose to the offices of sergeant-major, quarter-master and pay-master. He was sent with his regiment to Newfoundland in 1765, and, like the rest of his companions, lived for the pleasures of the world, until the year 1770, when he was aroused by a fearful judgment which came upon a fellow soldier while blaspheming. He thereafter gave himself to God and His service. Three years later, on his return to England, he joined a Congregational church at Chatham, where he felt himself to be "a child at home." He was again sent to St. John's in 1775, when he began holding religious services in his room, having at first only a handful of fellow-worshippers.

These increased in number, and receiving permission to use the Court House, they removed thither for public worship. On the arrival of Governor Montague, the further assembly in this place was prohibited, and they met again in Mr. Jones' room. It was not long before this was prohibited, whereupon they assembled in the open air, and upon the barrens worshipped God and listened to His word. In the fall of 1776, the little company, after a day of fasting and prayer, resolved to build for themselves a place of worship which they accomplished at great self-sacrifice.

It was not long after they had taken possession of their church home, before the Governor, influenced by the Rector of the Church of England, ordered them to desist from worship in the building, threatening that he would "pull it down, stick and stone," and send Mr. Jones to Placentia. These threats were not executed, but in August, 1778, Mr. Jones was ordered with his company to England. An urgent request from the church followed him, asking that he should return and become their pastor. About the same time promotion in the army was offered him. After due deliberation, he decided to relinquish his military life, and devote himself to the work of the ministry and the pastoral care of the little flock at St. John's. Receiving ordination in England, he returned to Newfoundland, arriving June 9th, 1779.

In those times it was required that Dissenting ministers should receive a magistrate's license in order to exercise the functions of a minister. Through the influence of the Rev. Edward Langham, who was Rector of the Church of England, and a Justice of the Peace, Mr. Jones was refused this. The people, however, assembled for worship, whereupon a constable, by order of the clerical magistrate, entered and served an order upon the pastor, requiring him to desist or suffer the penalties. A petition was presented to Richard Edwards, Esq., Commander of the Forces, who was then Governor, requesting liberty to worship God according to the dictates of their

consciences. Receiving no reply, Mr. Jones and two of his church officers waited upon his Excellency at Government House, which at that time was a vessel anchored in the harbor. The pastor was arrested, and taken below, but afterwards released with the admonition: "That whatever he had a mind to do in his own house, he might without interruption; but he should have no leave to act in public."

This interference of the authorities being known in England, provoked indignation and protest, which were not without their effect. Vice-Admiral John Campbell, who became Governor of the Colony in 1782, was a man of more liberal religious views than his predecessors: therefore, when Mr. Jones and his people made request for liberty to worship God in their own house, agreeable to their views of Christian duty, he replied: "That so far from preventing, he should do all in his power to further it," and once more the church, from which the congregation had been banished for more than a year, was opened. The spirit of persecution was not, however, allayed, for the Rev. Mr. Price, who succeeded Justice Langham in the charge of the Church of England, uttered such slanders, that Mr. Jones felt constrained to appeal to the protection of the Court. Among other things, it was charged, that he uttered abusive language against the Roman Catholic church in his sermons. This evoked a letter from the Rev. Father O'Donnel, full of Christian courtesy and sympathy, showing a spirit very different from that evinced by the Anglican clergymen.

In 1786, a movement was made to enlarge the church building, which was accomplished at an expense of £1,000, the amount being chiefly contributed by friends in England. The first Protestant day school and the first Sunday school in the colony were inaugurated by the Rev. Mr. Jones and his church. His faithful ministry was continued until the 1st of March, 1800, when he died, in the sixty-third year of his age. His funeral was conducted by the Rev. Mr. Harris, a minister

of the Church of England, and his body lies buried under the steps of the church, in the old church-yard.

Mr. Jones was succeeded by the Rev. Ruttan Morris, who entered upon the pastorate June 23rd, 1801, which he relinquished in 1805 to return to England, and enter upon the service of the British and Foreign Bible Society. For two years after, the Rev. John Hillyard ministered to the church. Mr. Hillyard had been pastor of the Congregational Church at Twillingate, Newfoundland, since 1788. The next to follow in the pastorate was the Rev. Edward Violet, whose incumbency extended from 1807 to 1810, when he, with his family, were lost at sea on their way to England. From 1811 to 1812 the Rev. John Sanderson officiated; from 1813 to 1816, the Rev. Wm. Jones; from 1816 to 1818, the Rev. Mr. Sabine; from 1820 to 1824, the Rev. Thomas Smith.

The Rev. Daniel Ward came over from England, and assumed charge of the church on the 14th of June, 1824. He was a thorough scholar, an able preacher, a faithful pastor, and under his ministry the church greatly prospered. After sixteen years of unremitting labor, his health broke down, when he visited England, seeking recovery, and at the same time collecting funds for a new church. He returned to his loved flock, but his work was nearly done, for on August 16th, 1843, he died, after an efficient pastorate of nearly twenty years.

The Rev. D. D. Evans succeeded Mr. Ward, and exercised the pastoral oversight from Sept. 15th, 1844 to 1848. He was followed in 1857 by the Rev. Charles Pedley, who ministered to the church for seven years, and who also wrote the "History of Newfoundland." Mrs. Pedley was a daughter of the Rev. Dr. Stowell, Principal of Rotherham College, England, and four of their sons have devoted themselves to the work of the Congregational ministry in Canada.

After a brief tenure of the pastoral charge by the Rev. J. Maze and the Rev. James Howell, the Rev. Thomas Hall, in 1868, assumed charge, which he continued, with much success,

for thirteen years.* Isolated though this church has been from sister churches of the same faith and order, it has been true to its Congregational character, and has done its full share of religious and philanthropic work in the community, where it has maintained a highly respectable position.

Cape Breton, discovered by some Basque and Breton fishermen, about 1504, was not settled to any great extent by New England people, hence but few of the early settlers were Congregationalists. Among those taking possession of the beautiful Margaree valley, situated on the west side of the island, was Mr. Irad Hart, a man of more than ordinary gifts, and a Congregationalist. Having no minister, the people conducted service among themselves, making use of the Book of Common Prayer. Owing to his ability, Mr. Hart soon became the acknowledged leader, and expounder of the Scriptures.

Through the advice and assistance of the Rev. Frederick Dairen, of Manchester, N.S., a Congregational church was organized in 1823, with Mr. Joseph Hart, a son of Irad, as its first pastor. During the past sixty-five years, this church has held steadily on its way, extending its influence far beyond the valley, and has done much for the cause of Christ. At the time of Dr. Wilkes' death, there was in his classes in the college a grandson of Mr. Irad Hart, who has since completed his course of study for the ministry.

Nova Scotia, known by the French as *Acadia*, was the first part of the continent discovered by John Cabot, in 1497, a Venetian by birth, but a resident of Bristol, England. The French colonized it in 1598, and for many years it was the battle ground between the English and French, each seeking supremacy. Sometimes the inhabitants were compelled to yield allegiance to one nation and sometimes to the other. It was taken by the English in 1627, restored to France in 1632,

* The writer is largely indebted to Mr. Hall for facts relating to the history of the church at St. John's.

and gain ceded to England in 1714. After the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 1748, a large body of emigrants and adventurers, under Lord Halifax, made up for the most part of those who had served in the army and navy, came to the colony. They named their place of settlement "Halifax" in honor of their leader, and changed the name of the colony from *Acadia* to Nova Scotia.

Ten years later, the English government, desiring to secure a class of settlers of a different type, issued, through Governor Lawrence, a proclamation to the inhabitants of the colonies of New England, inviting them to come. A proposal was made to divide the country into townships of twelve miles square, and to give one hundred acres of land to each actual settler, and fifty each to the members of his family. This led to a large immigration from New England, made up for the most part of Congregationalists.

At the time of their settlement, Episcopacy was established in the colony by law. These Congregationalists, therefore, demanded a guarantee of full civil and religious liberty. This was accorded in an instrument called "The Charter of Nova Scotia," which, among other things, provided that "Protestants dissenting from the Church of England shall have full liberty of conscience, and may erect and build meeting-houses for public worship, and may choose and elect ministers for the carrying out of divine service, and the administration of the sacraments, according to their several opinions; and all such dissenters shall be excused from any rate or tax to be made or levied for the support of the established Church of England." This instrument Haliburton aptly calls, "the Magna Charta of Nova Scotia."

Chester is a maritime village, situated about thirty miles west of Halifax, and was one of the first New England settlements of Nova Scotia. It was occupied in 1759 by from thirty to forty Congregational families. A church was formed the same year and placed under the pastoral care of the Rev. John Secomb, a

graduate of Cambridge, in 1728, and pastor of the church at Harvard, Mass., from 1733 to 1757. Mr. Secomb continued his faithful ministry at Chester until some time previous to the year 1769, when he removed to Halifax to assume charge of the church there. He returned, however, in 1784 to the Chester church, with which he labored until his death in 1793. During the last years of his ministry, owing to physical infirmity, he was assisted in his work by the Rev. Joseph Dimmock, an Open Communion Baptist. As it was found difficult to secure a Congregational minister to succeed Mr. Secomb, Mr. Dimmock was chosen pastor with the understanding that Baptism was to be left an open question. In 1809, however, the pastor secured what Benedict, in his "History of the Baptists," calls "a partial reformation," which reformation, he tells us, was completed in 1811, a process by which this ancient Congregational church was made over to the Baptist Association of Nova Scotia.

Cornwallis and Falmouth were settled, in 1760, by Connecticut Congregationalists, the main body being "New Lights." These had their origin at the time of the "Great Awakening" in 1740, James Davenport being their chief leader in New England, and Henry Alline in Nova Scotia. Henry Alline, when a boy, came with his parents from Newport, R.I., to Falmouth with the first settlers. He was of a wild, fiery and imaginative disposition. After his conversion, at the age of twenty-seven, he gave himself to the work of the ministry, which he prosecuted with great zeal, but not always with discretion. At Falmouth, and the surrounding settlements, he drew large crowds to hear him. For the most part his labors were of an evangelistic character, and were followed by wonderful revivals, not unfrequently causing churches to be rent asunder. Though Henry Alline lived and died a Congregationalist, his erratic views and peculiar methods did much to damage our churches, and transfer them to the Baptist denomination. Mr. Benedict makes the following significant allusion to him:

"Although Mr. Alline was born, lived and died in the Pado-baptist connection, yet on account of his instrumentality in raising up Baptist churches, and of the good savor of his name with those who were associated with him in his evangelical labors, I have thought proper to give some biographical sketch of his character."

The date at which a Congregational church was formed at Cornwallis is not given, but it was in existence as early as 1776. It appears that by a disruption, the church property, together with the records of the church, passed into the hands of the Presbyterians, and are still in their possession. The church again recovered itself, to be overtaken by another disruption, whereby many of the members, and the acquired property, passed over to the Regular Baptists. Once more the remnant gathered sufficient strength to inaugurate another change, which transformed them, property and all, to the likeness and custody of the Free Will Baptists. The present Congregational church in Cornwallis was organized in 1819. In Falmouth there still stands an old Congregational church building, as a monument of the faith of the fathers, while most of their descendants are called by other denominational names.

Liverpool was settled by about twenty families from New England, in 1760, and in two years their number had increased to eighty. Among the earliest settlers we find the names of Tupper, Freeman and Gorham. Having no minister, they made known their need to friends in Massachusetts, whereupon the Rev. Israel Cheevers, a licentiate of Harvard College, visited them, and accepted an invitation to become their pastor. Letters missive were sent out convening a council at Rochester, Mass., which ordained Mr. Cheevers to the ministry, and installed him as pastor of the Liverpool church. Services were first conducted in private dwellings, and the school-house; but in 1776 the building known as "Old Zion" was erected at a cost of £804. The place was visited by Henry Alline, whose fame had preceded him. Great numbers

attended his daily preaching, resulting in a revival, a disruption, and the resignation of Mr. Cheevers.

In 1801 the Rev. John Payzant became the pastor. He had been educated for the Roman Catholic priesthood, was led to change his views by the preaching of Henry Alline, whose sister he married, and became a Congregational minister. Under Mr. Payzant's judicious administration, the separated churches were united, and by his faithful preaching about two hundred members were added to the church. His pastorate lasted for thirty-three years, when, on account of the infirmities of age, he resigned in 1834, and died in the same year. The Rev. Mr. Elder then preached to the people for a year, and was succeeded by the Rev. James Melvin. Owing to disagreement with him, some of the members, in 1847, withdrew and formed a second church, of which the Rev. Mr. Murkland was the first pastor. He was succeeded by the Rev. F. (afterwards Dr) Tompkins, who brought about a re-union of the churches, with the understanding that the Rev. Mr. Melvin should be pastor *emeritus*.

Mr. Tompkins was at the time engaged in establishing Gorham College in Liverpool, for which an endowment had been provided by the widow of James Gorham, Esq. The building was afterwards destroyed by fire, and any further attempt to continue the College being hopeless, the library was transferred to the Congregational College of B. N. A., and the endowment has since been used by the Canada Congregational Missionary Society, in carrying on its work in Nova Scotia, as provided by the trust. After the failure of the College scheme, Mr. Tompkins returned to England. The church has since held steadily on its way, under various pastors, maintaining in integrity its Congregational character to the present day. The Congregational churches of Milton, Brooklyn, and Beach Meadows are the offspring of this mother church.

Chebogue, in the Township of Yarmouth, was visited in 1761 by three families who came from Sandwich, Mass., a place only

a few miles from the spot where the Pilgrim Fathers landed. They were the first English settlers, and were afterwards joined by other families, who came in a vessel from Connecticut. In 1766 a house of worship was erected, and the next year the church was organized consisting of ten men and one woman. There being no minister within a hundred miles, self-organization became a necessity. They therefore met, and covenanted "to walk with God and to watch over one another." Choosing one of their number, Mr. John Frost, as their minister, they ordained him, delegating to four of the members the duty of "laying on of hands" in their behalf. He resigned, and afterwards preached to the people in Argyle.

In 1770, Mr. Frost was succeeded by Mr. Jonathan Scott, another of the original members. It was decided that the pastor elect, together with Deacon James Robins and John Crowley as representatives of the church, and Mr. Seth Barnes from the Society, should go to Middleboro', Mass., where, if thought best, Mr. Scott should be ordained and installed over them.*

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* The following is a copy of the letter sent by the church to the sister church at Middleboro', and associate churches: "Forasmuch as we have been a long time striving to settle ye gospel in this wilderness land, and finding many difficulties to encounter with among us, and being settled at a great distance from any church that we have fellowship with, which makes it very difficult to obtain any help, we therefore humbly ask your prayers to God for us, and also your assistance, that ye gospel of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ may be settled among us, and ye sacraments of ye New Testament may be ministered for our comfort and growth in holiness. Furthermore, the church and society, being unanimous, have given Mr. J. Scott a call to ye work of ye gospel ministry and pastoral office among them, in case ye difficulties subsisting in ye church are removed, and Mr. S. is examined and recommended by a council of Godly ministers; ye church and society having sat under Mr. Scott's exhortation for two years and more, and find no fault with his ministry; and being held by ye call of the people hath submitted himself (being fearful with regard to his qualifications) to ye examination and advice of ye first church of Christ at Middleboro' and their associate churches.

These left Yarmouth on the 21st of March, 1772, calling at Plymouth and Boston, and after a stormy passage arrived at Middleboro', on the 8th of April. Two days after a conference was held with the Revs. Solomon Reed and Sylvanus Conant, which resulted in the convening of a council consisting of six pastors and seven delegates. The council met on the 27th of April, and the following day proceeded to ordain Mr. Scott. The first church at Middleboro' sent a communion service to the church in Chebogue, consisting of two flagons and four cups, together with a linen table-cloth and two napkins. These were used in the first administration of the Lord's supper on the 27th of September, 1772.

On Saturday, October 20th, 1781, Henry Alline made his first appearance at Yarmouth, and on the following day attended the service at Cape Forchue. We are told the pastor "invited him home with him, and imprudently asked him to pray in his family, twice, while there, and once to ask a blessing at table." Mr. Scott had previously met him at Cornwallis and opposed his doctrines. He had also procured his book entitled "Two Mites," which he read to the church, they discussing the same, and pronouncing it to be "horrible and erroneous." Later, the pastor answered this treatise in a book entitled "A Brief View, etc." As might be expected Henry Alline's visit caused quite a commotion; and though his stay was short, he left a divided church. Mr. Scott, however, continued his ministry with them until 1795, when he returned to the United States.

And as we are in difficult circumstances, and cannot well *send* for a council of ministers, it seemed good unto us to send our beloved brother Mr. Jonathan Scott up to you for examination, and also for ordination if it seem good to ordain him. And if it seem good to you to ordain him, we submit to your determination whether it shall be done with you, or in this *wilderness land*." This is followed by the list of delegates who accompanied the pastor elect.

The following were the successive pulpit supplies or pastoral settlements; the Rev. Daniel Brock from 1797 to 1798; Rev. Mr. Brown for three months in 1799; the Rev. Mr. Chickering for five months in the same year; the Rev. Mr. Hillyard, formerly of Twillingate, Newfoundland, in 1807; the Rev. Abel Cutter from 1816 to 1834. The next minister was the Rev. Mr. Ross, a Presbyterian, who sought to administer the affairs of the church in the Presbyterian way. He left in 1844, and was succeeded by the Rev. F. Tompkins, under whose ministry a number of the members withdrew, and formed a Presbyterian church. The Rev. W. H. Heu de Bourck followed Mr. Tompkins, and under other faithful pastors, whose settlements are of comparatively recent date, the church has continued in its Apostolic order and faith.

In Halifax a Congregational church was organized about the year 1753. The site for the church was given by an order in council, and the frame for the building was brought from Boston. It was named "the Mather church" in honor of Cotton Mather, the celebrated New England divine. The Rev. Aaron Cleveland* was the first pastor, and among his successors were the Rev. Daniel Hopkins, a graduate of Yale, the Rev. Mr. Brenton and the Rev. John Secomb. Mr. Secomb, as has been stated, had been pastor of the church at Chester. The date of his coming to Halifax is not certain, but he was in charge of the church in 1769, and resigned in 1784, to return to Chester. He was succeeded by the Rev. Thomas Russell, a minister of the Church of Scotland, and a number of Presbyterians became members of the church.

It was not long before a determined effort was made to change the denominational character of the church, which was stoutly resisted, leading to a struggle between the two parties for possession of the building, sometimes one section holding

*A Halifax paper has made the statement that the Rev. Aaron Cleveland was grandfather to the present President of the United States.

possession and sometimes the other. In the end the Presbyterians were victorious, agreeing, as the only compensation to the Congregationalists, that Watts' Hymns should be used in the public services. Mr. Russell wearied, no doubt, with the strife, resigned in 1786, and was lost at sea, on his way to the old land. The name of the church was changed from "Mather's" to "St. Mathew's," and a few years ago the property was secured to its present holders by an Act of Incorporation.

Other Congregational churches existed at an early date in Annapolis, Granville, Onslow, Amherst, Horton, Windsor, Newport and many more places. Mr. Peter Fisher, of Fredericton, says that in 1800 they were very numerous. Many of them were "New Light" churches, and these mostly went over to the Baptists. The earliest churches suffered greatly on account of the war of the Revolution, a large number of the settlers, and some of the pastors returning to New England to aid their fellow-colonists in the struggle for independence. By this means the churches were not only decimated, but pastors, were lost, whose places, under the existing circumstances, could not be filled.

New Brunswick, in the early times of which we write, formed a part of Nova Scotia, not having a separate Provincial existence until 1785. Sheffield was the first New England settlement made on the river St. John, and it was then called Maugerville. In May, 1762, an exploring party reached the mouth of the river, and not liking the situation proceeded as far as St. Ann's, where they were met by Indians, and forced to sail back to the lower end of the Oromocto Island. There, on the bank of the river, they resolved to establish a settlement.

In the order for the survey of the territory the following instructions were given:—"You will reserve four lots in the township for public use, one as a glebe for the Church of England, one for the Dissenting Protestants, one for the maintenance of a school, and one for the first settled minister."

These early settlers were all Congregationalists, and they established public worship in 1762, and it is thought organized their church in 1766. The Rev. Messrs. Wilman, Briggs, and Webster were their first preachers, but the Rev. Seth Noble was their first pastor, settled not later than 1774. Mr. Noble sympathized with the revolutionary party in the Old Colonies, and urged his flock to join in the struggle. This they refused to do, whereupon he left them, some time about 1777, and proceeded to New England. After peace was declared he returned, and attempted to resume his pastoral charge, to which the church would not give consent.

Henry Alline visited the settlement in May, 1779, denouncing those who did not agree with him as unsaved; divided the church and organized a new one on his peculiar lines, which he subsequently visited two or three times previous to his death in 1784. The first church having made ineffectual attempts to secure the Rev. Mr. Scott, of Chebogue, for their pastor, sent an appeal to Lady Huntington, through Dr. John Calif, of St. John. She sent out two of her missionaries, one of whom, a Mr. James, settled in Maugerville in 1788. Two years after his settlement he became restless and neglectful of his work, and his conduct became such that in 1792 the church felt compelled to prefer charges against him, and appointed a meeting for their consideration.

On the Sunday previous to the church meeting the pastor startled the congregation by announcing that he had determined to cast in his lot with the Church of England, "the most indulgent, and least censorious church in the world." He further stated that he would conduct divine service in that building of which he held possession, according to the rites of the Church of England. Mr. James and his agent, aided and abetted by the magistrates and a Church of England party, succeeded in retaining this illegal possession of the building for some time. On the 6th of August, 1793, when Messrs. Burpee and Coburn took peaceable possession of the minister's

house, which formed a part of the church building, Charlesworth, Mr. James' agent, was forcibly replaced by the bailiff who was accompanied by several magistrates. How and when the church ultimately regained possession of their property the records do not show; but it was not until after many of the New England settlers, disgusted with the high-handed and illegal proceedings of the authorities, had returned to the United States.

The Revs. James Boyd, Edward Eastman, and Duncan Dunbar successively filled the pastoral office after the withdrawal of Mr. James. Mr. Dunbar was sent to them by the London Missionary Society in 1811, and subsequently became a distinguished member of the Baptist denomination in the United States. Through the London Missionary Society the church also secured the Rev. Archibald McCallum in 1820, who continued their faithful and efficient pastor for twenty years, when he resigned, and was soon after removed by death.

The church at Keswick Ridge is an offshoot from that in Sheffield, and was organized in 1826 by Mr. McCallum. The lot reserved in the original survey for the first settled minister rightfully belonged to the Congregationalists, for Mr. Noble was the first to be settled. It has, however, been claimed and occupied by others, while a persistent though unsuccessful attempt was made to take from the church the land reserved for the Dissenting Protestant church.

James Woodrow, Esq., of St. John, who has placed us all under grateful obligation on account of his researches, and contributions to the early history of our denomination in the Maritime Provinces,* says: "As the tourist sails up the St. John, on the interval, some eight miles below the capital of New Brunswick, at a beautiful spot, he makes inquiry in reference to a neat, white church edifice, which can be seen behind the trees lining the bank on the right hand side. He may be told its

* See *Canadian Independent*, Vols. XI. to XIV.

character; or, perhaps, he is informed it is a Presbyterian church, as some people of other denominations persist in calling it. There, on lot fifteen, so long battled for, stands the building in which worships the mother Congregational church of New Brunswick, the oldest Protestant church in the Province."

In Miltown there is a Congregational church which had an early origin, but it has been and is still connected with the Maine Conference of Congregational churches. Churches were also organized in Sackville, in 1776, in Cardigan in 1819, and in Florenceville, as well as in other places in New Brunswick. These, however, have either ceased to exist, or have passed into the hands of other denominations. The church at St. John is of more recent date, having been organized in 1844.

In the Province of Quebec, formerly known as Lower Canada, the first Congregational church of which we have any record was formed in the city of Quebec in 1801. At the close of the last century, some Christian soldiers who were stationed there made an appeal to the London Missionary Society, in which they set forth their spiritual destitution, and besought them to send a minister of the Gospel to them. In response to this, two missionaries were sent out from England, the Revs. Messrs. Bentom and Mitchell; but on their arrival at Quebec, they found that the regiment to which the Christian soldiers belonged had been removed to another station. Mr. Mitchell proceeded to Montreal, where, after a few weeks' sojourn, he concluded there was no prospect of successful work. He then went down to Bay Chaleur, where he labored with considerable success for three years. He was succeeded in that field by the Rev. Mr. Pigeon, but any further facts in relation to the work there are unknown.

The Rev. Mr. Bentom resolved to remain in the city of Quebec, and taking lodgings with a cooper, began to preach to the few who gathered to hear in his room. As the congregation increased they removed, first to the house of a Mr. Haldane, then to a room in the second story of a public-

house, where one partition was taken down after another, until the whole flat was occupied. Thence they went to the Freemasons' Hall, where, with a congregation averaging two hundred, they continued to worship for some time. A Congregational church, numbering about forty members, was regularly organized in the summer of 1801. Mr. Bentom was a Doctor of Medicine, and he derived the larger part of his income from the practice of this profession, acquiring much influence and success.

According to the laws of the Province, it was required that every pastor should hold an official Register, which the authorities issued annually, wherein must be recorded all baptisms, marriages and burials. Without this, no minister could legally perform these functions of his office. This Mr. Bentom received, in due form, for two successive years. His success, however, had excited jealousy and opposition in high places. On the third year of his pastorate, on applying, as usual, for his Register, he was flatly refused it, by which he was practically inhibited from performing those important functions of the ministry.

This discourteous and illegal proceeding was resented. Finding that he was unable to obtain redress otherwise, he resorted to the press, publishing a pamphlet entitled "Law and Fact," in which the wrong he was made to suffer was exposed. For this he was arrested, and prosecuted for libel, Attorney-General Sewell acting for the prosecution. No advocate could be found who had the independence to appear in behalf of the defendant, whereupon he argued his own case in court. The trial, which was by special jury, lasted all day, and resulted in a verdict of guilty. Mr. Bentom was sentenced to six months imprisonment, and a fine of £50 sterling, which was really for the crime of nonconformity. He served the term of imprisonment, while some friends in Glasgow, Scotland, contributed and paid the fine.

Twenty-five years later Chief Justice Sewell, who had acted

as prosecuting attorney, virtually admitted, in a conversation with Dr. Wilkes, that the proceedings in this case were altogether contrary to the inalienable rights of conscience, an inequitable stretch of the law, and a dangerous precedent which could not be justified. By this judgment against Mr. Bentom, the Act regarding Congregational Registers, passed by the Canadian Parliament, and sanctioned by the British Government, was nullified. For thirty years after, all Congregational ministers in Lower Canada were placed under disability, not being allowed to perform the ordinance of baptism, or to officiate at marriages and burials. It was not until by Act VI., William IV., chap. 19, that they received equal status and privileges with other ministers.

During Mr. Bentom's imprisonment, his church showed him all possible kindness, willingly sharing the obloquy it was attempted to heap upon them. At his request they wrote to Great Britain for a minister to succeed him, and secured the Rev. Francis Dick, who became pastor of the church in 1805, and remained in charge for three years. It was by this church that the Quebec Bible Society was organized, in 1804, which still exists; and under Mr. Dick, the first Sunday school in Canada was formed, in the same church.

Mr. Dick was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Spratt, who remained for several years, partially supporting himself by teaching school. In 1816 a church building was erected, at a cost of £2,400, exclusive of the ground. With a view to relieve the church of the burden of debt incurred, Mr. Sprat went to England and the United States, soliciting aid. Discouraged through the want of success he returned to resign his charge, and in 1820 joined the Episcopal church, and removed from Quebec. After an interval of a year he was succeeded by the Rev. Mr. Purkis, who remained until 1824, and then was followed by the Rev. George Bourne, who continued in charge until October, 1829.

During the five years of Mr. Bourne's ministry, the church

made considerable progress, its membership increased and were very united. Owing, however, to the continued hostility of the authorities, the burden of their debt, their denominational isolation, and the lack of any Missionary Society which could aid them, they became discouraged, and were induced to sell their property, and transfer their allegiance to the Church of Scotland. The church is now known in Quebec as "Chalmers' Church." This, however, was not a unanimous act, for in 1837 a remnant was found faithful to the Congregational principles, who were formed into another Congregational church, with the Rev. Timothy Atkinson as its first pastor.

The Eastern Townships, called "the Switzerland of Canada," were largely settled by people from New England. These had been accustomed, from their earliest years, to the means of grace; but in the wilderness to which they had come to hew out new homes, they had neither churches nor ministers. This spiritual destitution was, in a small measure, supplied by ministers from New England, who visited them from time to time, preaching in various places. Among the earliest of these were the Revs. James Hobart, Luther Leland, and John Jackson. Mr. Hobart was a graduate of Dartmouth, and pastor of the Congregational church at Berlin, Vt. Having a sister living in Stanstead, he frequently visited her in the first years of this century, making his visits occasions of evangelistic labors, especially in Stanstead. Mr. Leland was a graduate of Middlebury, and pastor of the church at Derby, Vt., in 1810. He performed a vast amount of missionary work in the bordering townships of Lower Canada.

The Rev. John Jackson,* a native of Petersham, Mass., graduated in Dartmouth in 1792, and was the first Congregational minister in Gill, Mass. He came to Canada in 1811, settling first in Stukely, and removing four years later to Brome. There were few churches then in the Townships, as the popu-

* Grandfather of Rev. Dr. Jackson, of Kingston.—[ED.]

lation was too sparse to form them. Mr. Jackson's ministry, therefore, which extended over a period of about twenty years, was chiefly itinerant and evangelistic. Picking his way through the forests on horseback, or on foot, guided by the blazed trees, he carried the bread of life from settlement to settlement, in various townships. For this hard pioneer labor he received but little reward aside from the consciousness that he was doing his Master's work. When, in 1844, the Congregational church at Brome was organized, and the enduring stone edifice was erected under the pastorate of the Rev. David Connell, Mr. Jackson said he felt like uttering the words of Simeon: "Lord, now lettest thou thy servant depart in peace, according to thy word; for mine eyes have seen thy salvation," etc. He died on March 18, of that same year, and was buried by the Rev. Dr. Wilkes. His mortal remains rest in the cemetery adjoining the church.

Stanstead was settled by New England people about 1790, but the church was not organized until 1816, the Rev. Thaddeus Osgood being the first settled minister. A large congregation was gathered, and for some time the church prospered Mr. Osgood was what is termed a moderate Calvinist, while a portion of the members were quite ultra in their doctrinal views. This led to disagreement, whereupon an ecclesiastical council was called to give advice in the matter. The sessions of the council lasted for two days, and excited much interest in the community, the Union church where they met, and which seated fifteen hundred, being filled to overflowing. A majority of the council decided in favor of the pastor, while a small minority advised his dismissal. The sympathies of the public, and of the greater part of the church were with the decision of the majority, therefore the pastor continued his ministry, although the disaffected minority withdrew, and for a time attended the ministry of Mr. Leland at Derby. Mr. Osgood organized the first Sunday school in the Eastern Townships,

and continued his faithful and efficient ministry until 1819, when he resigned.

In the absence of a minister, service was conducted for some time by the deacons. In 1828, the Rev. A. J. Parker, who had just completed his preparation for the ministry, and received his license in Vermont, supplied the church most acceptably for some months. In 1829, the Rev. Andrew Rankin became the pastor, and the new brick church at the north end of the plain was built in the same year. The Rev. Joseph Gibbs, from Banff, Scotland, succeeded Mr. Rankin in 1830. He was a man of eminent endowments, and an author of considerable repute. He died in June, 1833, and was father of the late Rev. S. T. Gibbs, of Whitby, Ont. After being supplied for a time by ministers belonging to the Hampshire Association, Mass., the American Missionary Society, in 1834, sent them the Rev. A. O. Hubbard, who remained for a year, and was followed in June, 1836, by the Rev. L. Sabin, sent by the same society, he also remained for only a year. The Rev. R. V. Hall, who was born in Stanstead, in 1810, and educated in the United States, became their next pastor. He remained in charge of the church for more than sixteen years, or until 1854. This church, which still remains true to the creed and polity of its New England founders, is the mother of severa Congregational churches in that region.

In Eaton a Congregational church was organized in 1815, through the labors of the Rev. J. Taylor, a graduate of Middlebury. Mr. Taylor was the first pastor, and his installation services were held in the barn of Mr. Wells Rogers. For five years he continued his labors amid many privations, supplementing his scant salary by teaching the district school. In 1821, an offer from the Bishop of Quebec of a salary of £200 sterling was accepted, and he became the first incumbent of the Episcopal church in Cookshire, some of the members going with him, and forming the nucleus of the church. A larger number united in founding a Baptist church, while others re-

mained true to their principles. These were as sheep without a shepherd, until they were visited by the Rev. A. J. Parker in 1833, and reorganized as a Congregational church. They were occasionally supplied by ministers until the beginning of 1838, when the Rev. E. J. Sherrill was installed over them. His long and faithful ministry terminated by his resignation through ill health in 1875. Mr. Sherrill died in Lee, Mass., June 13th, 1877, on the thirty-ninth anniversary of his ordination. He was father to the Rev. Dr. Sherrill, pastor of the First Congregational church at Omaha, Nebraska.

The Rev. A. J. Parker, after supplying the church at Stanstead for some months, as has been stated, made a prospecting missionary tour in the Eastern Townships, going as far as the village now called Danville, in the township of Shipton. He found great spiritual destitution, for in a circuit of sixty miles there were only two preaching stations. At the urgent request of the people of Danville, he made this his field of labor in April, 1829. He was supported in part by the Canada Education and Home Missionary Society, of which Mr. Wilkes was an active member. On November 11th, 1832, the church was organized, consisting of thirty-five members, and for twenty years was the only one in the place. Mr. Parker continued their honored and zealous pastor for forty years. He passed to his heavenly reward October 29th, 1877. One of his sons, the Rev. H. J. Parker, is a Congregational minister in the United States, and a daughter, Mrs. Watkins, a missionary in Mexico.

The Province of Ontario, early known as Upper Canada, was later than the other Provinces in receiving churches of the Congregational order, although their multiplication and growth has been much more rapid. In 1840 there were eighteen churches in Lower Canada and but sixteen in Upper Canada; while in Ontario to-day there are more than in all the other Provinces combined.

The church at Frome, in the Township of Southwold, is the oldest in Ontario, of which we have any record. In 1817, Mr.

Joseph Silcox emigrated from Frome, Somersetshire, England, to this place, then known as the Talbot Settlement. He was a Congregationalist, and having received a better education than the other settlers was appointed school teacher. The community was made up of those holding various forms of religious belief. About the year 1819, they formed themselves into an ecclesiastical society, which was named "The Congregational Presbyterian Prince of Peace Society." Mr. Silcox was chosen as their pastor, and duly set apart to the office. Under his ministry the church grew and flourished, and his labors were extended to many of the surrounding districts.

In 1821, Mr. Silcox returned to England, expecting in a short time to bring out his family to his new home. Through various causes he was detained there for seven years, but returned with his wife and family in 1829, and resumed his ministry. The church, however, had become divided and weakened through his prolonged absence. During the period of the Rebellion, the church received another severe shock. The pastor was strong in his sympathy with the Government party, while many of the members gave their countenance to the revolutionary party, causing estrangement between pastor and people. The disaffected and scattered members of the church, however, were again brought together in 1842, through the influence of a revival which had prevailed. Mr. Silcox was re-elected to the pastorate, and one of his sons chosen deacon. He continued his ministry, with good success, until 1850, when he retired from active duty. Two of his grandsons are now Congregational ministers in Canada.

In 1834, the Congregational Union of England and Wales sent, as a deputation to visit the sister churches of the United States, the Revs. Andrew Reed and James Matheson. They were met at New York by Congregationalists from Montreal and Toronto, who persuaded them to include Canada in their tour of visitation. They came to Quebec, Montreal, Brockville, Kingston and Toronto, and were so impressed with the

spiritual necessities of the country, that on their return they secured a grant of $5,000 from the London Missionary Society, and the Revs. W. Hayden and D. Dyer were at once sent out. The Rev. Andrew Reed (afterwards Dr. Reed) was invited to become the pastor of a Congregational church in Toronto, but declined.

The origin of the Congregational churches in Montreal, Toronto, and other places are of dates so near the beginning of Dr. Wilkes' ministry, and have their history so associated with his life, that details of their organization are not given in this chapter. As will appear from the following chapters of his Biography, while a young man in business in Montreal he had to do with some of our churches as an active member of the Canada Education and Home Missionary Society. While in Great Britain, whither he went to study for the ministry, he was instrumental in sending out several Congregational ministers to Canada, and it was largely through his influence that the Colonial Missionary Society was organized, fifty years ago. After his return to Montreal as pastor of Zion church, he became a spiritual father and Bishop to the Congregational churches of Canada, in a special sense. Holding the offices of Agent of the Colonial Missionary Society, Secretary and Treasurer of the Canada Congregational Missionary Society, and Principal, and a Professor of the Congregational College, he did more than any one else to establish and build up Congregational churches in Canada. "He rests from his labors, and his works do follow him." It is doubtful if we shall see his like again.

CHAPTER II.

1805–1820.

THE long and useful life of the REV. DR. WILKES, and the eminent service which, in various forms, he rendered to the denomination to which he belonged, and of which he was so prominent a figure for half a century, to say nothing of his more public work, makes it undesirable that our venerable friend should pass away without some memorial of him to remind us of his faithful, unselfish labors, and of the success with which they were rewarded. If we are to be "followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises," we must know the paths they trod, and there are few men whose success in the ministry has been more enviable, or whose methods of work, and power of organizing others for work, have been more worthy of study than those of the former pastor of Zion Church, in Montreal. We are sure, therefore, that the younger men in the ministry among us, and indeed all those who are interested in the furtherance of the Kingdom of God in this land, will desire to know something of the man who, by his faithfulness and wise administration of its affairs, made old "Zion," under the divine blessing, such a power for good, as, for many years, it was acknowledged to be, in that city.

HENRY WILKES was born in Birmingham, England, June 21st, 1805, and was the eldest child of a family of eleven. His grandfather, John Wilkes, was a clock maker, a man of sterling character, who lived to be eighty years of age, and to whose memory a tablet is erected on the outside of the wall of St. Mary's Church, where he is buried. He is said to have been related to John Wilkes, the notorious member of the British

House of Commons, who gave the king and the government of the day so much trouble in the early part of the reign of George III. The grandmother, who lived to a great age, is said to have been a woman of strong individuality of character. The family seems, indeed, to have been remarkable for their longevity, a grand-uncle, John Rann, of Dudley, having lived in full possession of all his faculties until ninety-seven. The fireside tales which one so aged could tell would naturally delight the young, and "his conversation," we are told, "was of intense interest, bringing before one, by an eye witness, a past which could only be read in books."

His father, who was a manufacturer, was a good business man, having a clear and vigorous mind, and took an interest in all the questions of the day, both political and religious. In his early days he had been one of a band of zealous and active young men in the church, under the charge of the Rev. Jehoiada Brewer, and he occasionally took his turn in preaching in the villages around; and on his coming to Canada, and settling in Brantford, he took an active part in the organization of the Congregational church in that place, and when the writer became its pastor, extended to him a very cordial welcome. Of a very different type of piety from that of his wife, he yet hated *shams* of every kind; and once when, on the occasion of a visit from Barnum, his pastor had preached a sermon on "lying lips an abomination to the Lord," and had uttered some plain truths on trickery and fraud, he thanked him for the discourse, his eyes flashing as he did so, and declared with emphasis, that it was the first sermon he had heard on lying in twenty years. He loved to hear the Gospel as he had heard it in "Steelhouse Lane," and was fond of quoting from Cowper (with whose poems he was very familiar,) his description of what a preacher of the Gospel should be,—

> "Would I describe a preacher, such as Paul,
> Were he on earth, would hear, approve, and own,
> Paul should himself direct me," etc.

a description which it was quite pardonable in him to think was largely met in his own son, of whom the old gentleman was not a little proud.

Dr. Wilkes' mother (*née* Susan Philips,) was of Welsh origin,—a woman of great mental power, and decided piety, with unbounded influence over her children, who entertained for her a love and veneration that could scarcely be exceeded. Few pastors of so small a church as that in Brantford then was have ever been blessed with a nobler or more helpful band of godly women than that found there, and of which Mrs. Wilkes and her sister, Mrs. Day,—mother of the pastor at Lanark,—were the leaders in every good work. She lived for two objects,—the salvation of her family, and the building up of the little church she loved so well; and in the sermon preached on the occasion of her death, in the month of January, 1858, her pastor felt that he could truly say of her:—

"Rarely do we meet with one whose life is marked with the same even consistency as hers. Her path has shone brighter and brighter unto the perfect day. For upwards of sixty years was her heart consecrated to God, and, as far as we know, during all that time has she been enabled by divine grace, to honor her Saviour by a godly life. The seed of the kingdom was, while very young, sown in her heart. She was not, I believe, blessed with pious parents in her earliest years, though I understand they became so afterwards; but the Lord called her by other means to the knowledge of Himself. A few pious people, in humble circumstances, as she related the matter to me, were in the habit of meeting for prayer, in one of the more retired streets of Birmingham. Their worship was offered almost in secret; but the Father who seeth in secret hearkened and heard them. Their singing attracted the attention of a little girl as she passed and repassed the place, and she often listened, and lingered, and wished to enter, but dared not do so; but one day one of the little company invited her in, and having obtained permission of her parents, she entered, and by these humble means, chiefly, was our dear departed sister impressed with her need of a Saviour, and led to his feet. And often has she referred to her own early experience as a reason why we should be attentive to strangers, since by that means we may be the instruments of saving some. And often, too, has she spoken of her own early conversion,

as she sat and talked with us at our cottage meetings, and assured the young people present of the pleasantness of the path of wisdom. Those who were privileged to be there on that occasion will not soon forget with what earnestness and delight she did so, the very last time she was with us, on her seventy-fifth birthday. Oh that those who heard her would choose the good part she so eloquently commended! She loved the sanctuary, and was accustomed to speak of the 4th verse of the twenty-seventh Psalm as "one of her texts,"—"One thing have I desired of the Lord, and that will I seek after, that I may dwell in the house of the Lord all the days of my life," etc.; and only when it was no longer possible for her to go could she be kept away. Her end was such an end as might have been predicated from such a life. "We have not followed cunningly devised fables," she said to a young man at her bedside, whom she suspected of skeptical tendencies: "there *is* truth in religion, there *is* reality in the Gospel, see how I am sustained and comforted by it. Read the Word of God for yourself, and be not led away by others." To one of her granddaughters standing by her bedside she said: "My dear, sixty years have passed away since I gave myself to the blessed Saviour. When young, like you, I was sometimes tempted. Once I was offered a ticket, and urged to go to the theatre. I refused, because I thought it not right, and that it would place a thorn in my dying pillow. The thorn is not there now.' Jesus was the Alpha and the Omega of her faith; His name was seldom mentioned in her hearing without drawing forth a hearty response, and nothing so delighted her as to conclude the Sabbath services with some such hymn as—

"Jesus, thy blood and righteousness," etc., or
"Grace, 'tis a charming sound," etc.

hymns with which her memory was richly stored. "Almost home," she said to a lady friend who visited her on the afternoon of her death, "I am almost home," and in a few minutes more she had been received into the many mansions of her Father's house."

These few particulars in regard to her are due to her memory, and may help to explain the secret of her influence over her children, and that boundless love and veneration which all the members of her family felt for her, and none of them more deeply than her eldest son. And never was filial affection more heartily reciprocated.

Fortunately for his biographer, Dr. Wilkes left behind him

somewhat voluminous auto-biographical "jottings," from which he is enabled to supply many little particulars of interest in regard to his childhood and its simple experiences.

"I can remember," he says, "at the early age of two and a half years, being at a Dame's school, a primitive arrangement compared with the Infant and Kindergarten schools of the present day. There I learned to read, and at five years I was sent to my uncle Nesbitt's school, a step in advance, and, copy in hand, was taught to write. My father was careful that all his children should have the best education that could then be obtained. Mine was a commercial one. George Edmonds, who afterwards became a famous man in Birmingham, was my teacher for a number of years. He had a rostrum in the school-room which we were required to ascend from time to time, and deliver prose and poetical compositions with suitable voice, intonation, and gesture. I have since been glad of this early drill in the art of speaking."

Several incidents are given, exhibiting early tendencies and traits of character, and how these were checked or developed. His temper and disposition were affectionate and cheerful, but he was naturally liable to gusts of passion. One day, in a paroxysm of rage, he struck a servant who had offended him, and complaint was made of it to his parents. "I can never forget," he writes, "how my father took me aside, and solemnly showed me the sinfulness and danger of giving way to uncontrolled temper, and my mother's firm but gentle reproof and earnest prayer that God would give her boy grace to govern himself. I am not aware of having, from that day, indulged in any unseemly anger." About the same period (nine years of age), when standing on a bridge without any parapet, flying a kite, he stumbled and fell into the canal, and was rescued in a state of insensibility, upon which he remarks,—"I remember the rapid thinking of the moments of drowning, when the remembrance of the love of my mother, and what her grief would be, was uppermost. My father, on my recovery, showed me how any one, by presence of mind, could keep afloat. This proved of great service to me, for, a year after, when standing on one of the primitive wharves of that day, careless-

ly talking and gesticulating, I lost my balance, and fell into water fourteen feet deep. I was not alarmed, but kept myself up by paddling, as a dog does with his forelegs, until a boat could be procured, and assistance given to relieve me."

The church with which the Wilkes family was connected had for its pastor, as before mentioned, the Rev. Jehoiada Brewer, a very able man, who had been educated for the Church of England, but had from conviction become an Independent. He died in 1814, and his funeral appears to have very deeply impressed young Henry, who says of it:

"I remember the grief of losing one who was a friend and a pastor, and the solemnity of walking in the procession to the church-yard. Many years after, my father would say that he was reminded of his first and favorite pastor by my preaching. This may have been parental partiality, or may it be supposed that impressions were made thus early by the ministry a boy attended, and in which he was interested, impressions on his mental and moral nature, which became developed in after life?"

A holiday trip in those days was an event in a boy's history, and when, on one occasion, his father took him with him on a rather extended tour, he seems to have experienced unbounded delight in all he saw in the towns visited; but he says,—and these it should be noted, were war times,—"the ships of war, lying at anchor in Plymouth dock, roused my boyish loyalty, and I was never tired of investigating all the appliances for the destruction of the enemy." This boyish enthusiasm was, if possible, raised to a still higher pitch, when, immediately on their reaching home again, the news of the victory at Waterloo was brought from London to Birmingham by mail, upon which the horses were taken from the coach, and for want of anything more heroic on which to bestow their honors, the people dragged the old coach through the streets in triumph, with flags flying, drums beating, and cannon booming, in token of their joy at the national deliverance. There was no Peace Society in those days, and probably not much preaching of the Gospel of peace until after the power of Napoleon (who was regarded by not a few as the "Anti-

christ" of prophecy) was broken; and we do not wonder, therefore, at reading that "we boys regarded ourselves as the natural enemies of the French, and considered ourselves greatly their superiors in every respect, especially as fighters. How happily changed the national feeling during the succeeding sixty-five years!"

The termination of a long and bitter struggle naturally produced great changes in the trade and commerce of the country, and Mr. Wilkes, senior, who for some years had business relations with certain parties in New York, now found it needful to go at once to look after his interests in that city. His business at home had to be managed by others, and very largely by his son Henry, then only fourteen years of age, who had to undertake several considerable journeys in the west of England, to settle accounts and take orders. Mr. Wilkes soon found, however, that it would require longer time time than he had expected to attend to matters in New York, and so, after correspondence with his family, it was decided that they should join him there the following spring. This involved, of course, the winding up of the business in Birmingham, the breaking up of a home, and all the preparations necessary for a large family setting out upon a long sea voyage,—a much more serious undertaking then than now. Mrs. Wilkes was, however, equal to the emergency, and making her son Henry her confidant and assistant, they together completed the arrangements for the voyage, and in April, 1820, the mother and seven children sailed from London for New York, to begin life anew, in a strange land.

CHAPTER III.

1820–1828.

EMIGRATION from the land of our birth, and especially the removal of a family from a comfortable English home, to a foreign country, with its untried experiences, must always be attended with much that is painful and perplexing. Even now, with all the opportunities afforded of learning in advance about the land, and the people among whom the emigrants are to find their future home, the step cannot be taken without some anxiety as to possible results, and the difficulties and uncertainties, not to say the misgivings, of such an undertaking, at the period of which we are writing, must have been sevenfold greater, as the time occupied in the voyage was often sevenfold longer than now. Though a fine vessel, no doubt, for her day, the ship in which Mrs. Wilkes and her family crossed the ocean would now be considered a very second-rate affair, and a voyage of over six weeks' duration, with seven young children in her sole charge, could not but be felt to be a sore trial, relieved only by the prospect of reunion with her husband in New York. In referring to its great and manifold discomforts, she was wont to speak of it as requiring pre-eminently the grace of patience, and but for the untiring cheerfulness, courage and unselfishness of her eldest son, would have been almost insupportable. Often had she sought to impress him with a sense of the great influence for good or evil which, as the eldest of the family, he must exert over its younger members, and very early he came to feel this responsibility. He sometimes spoke, half regretfully, of never having known any *boyhood*, having, by the force of circumstances, been compelled

to act the part, and bear the burdens of a man, while yet in years and strength only a child. Referring to this period in his "Auto-biographical jottings" he says:

"A forty-four days' voyage brought us to New York, 24th May, 1820, where we were detained for a month, in intense heat. My father having decided to settle in Canada, we left by schooner on the Hudson for Albany; thence in a waggon to Syracuse; then by river and canal to Oswego, and again in a schooner to the head of Lake Ontario, fully a week's journey. York (now Toronto) had then less than a thousand inhabitants. In wet weather it was extremely muddy, and sadly exposed to the plague of fever and ague, a month's experience of which I early suffered. My father began a general business opposite the market place, in King street East, and soon after at another stand, the corner of Yonge and Queen streets. I was employed between them both, and often had to drive a pair of large horses from the wharf to the store, and for considerable distances into the country for goods. I distinctly remember, on one of these trips to Niagara, having with me a Mr. Mackenzie, then a clerk in Mr. Leslie's, of Dundas, afterwards an M.P.P., and a so-called "rebel" * We greatly enjoyed the trip, and the awful grandeur of the Falls..... An accident, by which the forefinger of my left hand was crushed, led my father to hasten the fulfilment of an already formed purpose to introduce me to more intellectual work. I entered the office of an attorney and barrister, where I spent six months. At the end of that time very flattering offers were made to me to study law, but I declined them, mainly because of the difficulty, as I then thought, of being perfectly truthful, upright and honest, in transacting the business of that profession.

On Sundays we met for worship in a hall, the service being conducted by a Mr. Fenton, my father, and one or two others, alternately. There was also a small Sunday School, where I taught, as I did in Birmingham, mainly those who had to learn to read. A church was built soon after by Mr. Jesse Ketchum, in the neighbourhood of our new house and store, and we attended the services there, the Rev. Mr. Harris being minister.

My father's business now required him to visit New York and Montreal for goods, and he resolved to take me with him to the latter place, with a view of finding for me a position in a mercantile house. And here begins the record of that important part of a youth's life, wherein he leaves his home and goes forth into the world, away from parental supervision and domestic endearments. I had to leave both parents, four brothers and two sisters, who ever constituted a pleasant and harmonious family."

* No doubt Mr. William Lyon Mackenzie is intended.

To those who know this country only in its present advanced condition, with its railway service, its comfortable Pullman cars, its postal and telegraph arrangements, and other public conveniences, the amount of consideration and preparation which the projected journey involved would be amusing were we to describe it. In 1822, however, it was more serious than comic. Conveyances of the most primitive character only could then be obtained. The roads were of the roughest description, while there were long stretches of country through which no road had yet been opened. The only mode of communication with those left behind was by a mail which took about a week to accomplish the journey between York and Montreal. Hence Henry Wilkes' start in life was somewhat formidable to look forward to, since nothing but serious failure in some important matter would warrant a return to his home. Of that, however, his parents entertained no fear; his love of truth, and his uprightness and decision of character, gave them confidence in regard to his success. In bidding farewell to his mother, whom he almost idolized, he resolved that his conduct should never cause her a regret. The relations that existed between them were more intimate than is common between mother and son, and her loving advice and prayers for him were never forgotten, but often in hours of loneliness and temptation brought him comfort, and strength to resist. The account of his sojourn in Montreal, during these early years, is, necessarily, mostly from his own pen.

"Early in September, 1822, father and I proceeded in a steamer to Kingston, about a three days' sail, thence by a *bateau*, under the management of French Canadians, down the river to Lachine, of course running the several rapids, with no end of noisy exclamations, and directions addressed by the captain to his men. From thence driving in a caleche, we reached Montreal,—an old French-looking place, of narrow streets, and having about 28,000 inhabitants. My father expected to obtain for me a situation in a wholesale commission house, but the vacancy was filled. Walking along St. Paul street, he entered the store of Mr. John Torrance, with the intention of purchasing goods. I remained outside

looking up and down the street. Mr. Torrance enquired concerning me, and being called forward, I was asked if I would like to be a grocer? My reply was that I had no choice among reputable kinds of business. My penmanship was then tested, and in a few minutes I was engaged for three years, my salary to be £25, £35, and £45 per annum, and to board in the family. My father introduced me to the Sunday School in the Presbyterian church in St. Peter street, and in a few days he bade me farewell, returning to his home in York. I can never forget the choking sense of loneliness I then experienced, 360 miles away from my old home, in a strange town, without friends or acquaintances but those of a few days' standing."

This experience, doubtless, helped to develope what was always a conspicuous trait in Dr. Wilkes' character,—an intense sympathy for all strangers, and especially for young men coming to a strange land. He had "known the heart of a stranger," and to his latest days entered into the feelings of those similarly circumstanced with untiring interest. However much engaged, he would lay aside his work to read letters of introduction sent to him from England, the United States, or any other part of the world, or listen to tales of disappointment or over-sanguine hopes, from those recently arrived in the country. With words of cheer, or grave advice, he would try to direct their path, and would take endless trouble to secure situations and suitable lodgings for them, while not unfrequently material help was given until some suitable employment was obtained. "Help in need is help indeed," and this assistance frequently proved an inestimable boon, and is known, in more than one instance, to have been the means of enabling the needy one to take the first step in the building up of a fortune, or at least of securing a comfortable independence. In other cases the results were not so satisfactory. There were those who took advantage of his open, generous nature, and borrowed without even the intention, apparently, of returning the loan. But although often deceived, he never became callous or suspicious, counting it better to lose what he lent occasionally, through misplaced confidence, rather

than any one deserving of help should suffer. Before parting he rarely failed to give warning regarding the special temptations likely to assail the unwary, and to urge the importance of abstinence from alcoholic stimulants as being specially dangerous in this climate. Knowing too, from experience, how helpful working for the good of others had been in curing home-sickness, an introduction to a Sunday School or a Bible-class was generally given, and a cordial invitation to come to him to report success, or difficulty, and always to consider him as their friend.

To return to his own narrative,—

"The Sunday after my father left I went to the Sunday School in the Presbyterian church, St. Peter street, where I at once was appointed to a class, in which I soon became greatly interested. There I met Mr. T. S. Brown, Mr. Freeland and others, who always afterwards were steadfast friends. I attended, for the most part, St. Gabriel Street church, of which Messrs. Esson and Black were ministers. There soon came a period of change. Mr. Easton, the minister of St. Peter Street church, had become disabled, and soon after died, and a controversy arose as to the source whence they should seek a successor, whether from the Church of Scotland or from the United States. There were a number of natives of the United States in the congregation. A majority, however, decided to send to Scotland; whereupon, most of the Americans, though not all, seceded, and formed themselves into the American Society, leaving it, for the time, an open question whether they would organize as Presbyterians or Congregationalists. For some time longer I remained in the Sunday School in St. Peter street, but by and by I left for the newly formed school of the American congregation. This arose partly from pleasant friendships with members of it, but mainly from lively interest in the ministry of the Rev. J. S. Christmas, who came to the city in 1824."

In a letter from Mr. T. S. Brown, before alluded to, dated the 27th January, 1887, he says:—

"My impressions of the Sunday School of 1822 are, that Miss Hedge had for some time a Sunday School class in her father's house, corner of St. Peter street and Fortification lane (with garden stretching to St. James street, now crossed with the Merchants' Bank), and that this was the foundation of the school commenced in the St. Peter Street church, then known

as Mr. Easton's, and afterwards as St. Andrew's. Of this congregation I can remember the faces of Gates, Bancroft, Barrett, Frotheringham, Hedge, Lyman, Dwight, Boston, Michael Scott, John McKenzie, J. G. McKenzie, Fleming, Tait, and others. Some of them—I cannot say which, but with the co-operation of all—decided upon opening the school, which at once became popular, being well attended by the children of the congregation, and a number of outsiders. Of these children I have met with many in recent years, who remembered the school with much interest, but Mr. Henry Lyman is the only one surviving, to my knowledge. Young men and young women of the congregation volunteered to become teachers, of whom I remember the Misses Day, sisters of the late Justice Day, also nieces of Lady Allan; but somehow Henry Wilkes, then less than eighteen years of age, and myself about two years older, became what may be called the Executors or Directors in all matters of administration. Henry Wilkes was a remarkable man for his years, intelligent, stouthearted, self-reliant, and self-possessed, with a faculty of command. He wrote a finished hand, and got up a set of cards for the classes, each having the names of the respective children, with columns attached for attendance, good behavior, etc., that were admired at the time, and not forgotten; for in one of my last conversations with John McKenzie, who lived to a very old age, he asked me if I remembered these cards? Whatever I may have had of notes or records of these early days were lost, and it is now requiring my memory to make bricks without straw, when I ask it to go behind the barriers of half a century, and grope there for the details of passing events, bright enough at the time, but rusted over, and dislocated by age, and its decrepitudes. Subsequent to the Sunday School connection, Mr. Wilkes and I were moving on different lines; and though as active young men, interested in questions of social order and improvement, we were frequently brought together, the memory of the wheres, the whens, and the wherefores has passed away."

The influence of the Rev. Mr. Christmas, although himself so young a man, over the young people of his charge, and indeed over his congregation generally, appears to have been exceptionally great. The writer has often heard him referred to by his former Bible class teacher, the late Mr. J. C. Beers, and others, with an amount of tender and reverent affection, that indicated how deep had been the impression produced by his preaching and personal intercourse with them. Mr. Wilkes was providentially brought under his influence just at that for-

mative period of his history, when such a ministry was most likely to be helpful to him. The late Rev. Dr. Kirk, of Boston, who knew him intimately, as a student in the same Theological class with himself, thus describes him,—"He was more than ordinarily beautiful in complexion and expression, but of only medium stature. The beauty of his face would have been of feminine softness, but for the manliness of the intellect and sentiment which redeemed it.....His social qualities were of a high order; a constant sunshine of cheerfulness accompanied him; a meek and unambitious spirit, allied to great firmness, formed the basis of his character. .....His rank among us was high. Of his religious character I retain no other recollections than that I always regarded him as a peculiarly religious man."* And Mr. Wilkes, in a very appreciative sketch of his former pastor, contributed to the work from which the foregoing testimony is taken, says of him: "A calm review at this distance of time, (1848) gives rise to the conviction that his was a special mission to this northern frontier of American Christendom, designed to begin a work of spiritual amelioration which, receiving then an impulse and an impression, has steadily advanced until this present, through various channels, and in quarters and by instruments, then unlooked for;" and adds, that "to trace the influence of the short ministry of my loved friend.....would be to write the history of religion in Montreal during the last twenty-five years." Of his style in the pulpit he says, it "was easy and graceful, and frequently of a high character." But he sought not the honour that cometh from man only. So pungent and searching were some of his practical appeals, although always spoken in the spirit of love, that it is recorded that there were instances of individuals becoming so infuriated by the scorching discrimination of some of his discourses, that they were tempted, as they after-

* Sprague's Annals, vol. iv., page 664.

wards confessed, to shoot the preacher. The great principle, the grand ambition, the master passion in Mr. Christmas was the conversion of sinners, and the advancement of our Lord's kingdom. This excellent man, after a pastorate of four years "of almost unparalleled usefulness," in Montreal, returned to the United States, much broken down in health, where for a few months he took charge of another church, but sank under the effort, and died in the month of March, 1830.*

With so faithful and fearless a preacher, and so earnest and successful a soul-seeker at its head, it is not surprising that Mr. Wilkes writes of his identification with the American church as "an important era in (his) personal history." Mr. Christmas' preaching, and general ministry in 1825, (he says,) became very powerful, exciting bitter opposition on the part of the enemies of Evangelical truth, but also stirring the hearts of many to their inmost depths on the subject of personal salvation. The result was a striking revival of religion during the autumn and winter of 1825–6. The Rev. Mr. Henderson, of St. Andrew's, sympathized in this movement, and held special services, Mr. Christmas assisting him; many prominent men and women were brought to decide for Christ, who lived and died in the faith. The influence for good of that movement may be discovered at St. Andrew's even after the lapse of fifty years.

"From the time of my arrival in Montreal, my correspondence with my parents was constant, and the subject of personal religion held an important place in it. This revival deepened the impressions that already existed, and never quite passed away, and conversations with Mr. D. P. Janes, then an active young man in the little church, issued in a deliberate decision for Christ as my Lord and Master. In a few months, namely, May, 1826, I united with the American Presbyterian church, making to the minister and session a distinct avowal of my Congregational principles, but agreeing to walk according to Presbyterian order, so long as I remained

* Sprague's Annals. vol. iv., pp. 665, 667.

a member of that church. At that time I became acquainted with two very estimable men, twin brothers, S. S. and J. B. Ward. One of them made me a life member of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and with them I have had a life-long friendship.

At this date I had been more than three and a half years with Mr. Torrance, my apprenticeship being over, and my salary now £100 per annum. He had kindly made me a present at the end of each of the three years of £10, and what was still more gratifying, expressed entire satisfaction with my services. My remembrances are all of hard, steady, faithful work, believing that my duty was to seek in every proper manner my employer's interest. The first year I was in the shop and warehouse; immediately after in the office as bookkeeper. The others employed in the establishment at that time were, Mr. David Torrance, Mr. Andrew Cowan, Mr. William Christie, for many years a venerable elder in St. Paul's church, and John Young, a youth just from Scotland, who afterwards became the Hon. John Young. I was usually selected if important written communications were to be made, or when business required a visit to distant places."

He then goes on to describe some of his experiences in visiting Kingston, Quebec, Hull, driving through the present site of Ottawa, which at that time was "only a clearing," without a house,—and then mentions an offer made to him by a New York gentleman, with whom he met on one of these journeys, of an important position as his agent in the Island of St. Thomas, West Indies, with a salary, for the first year, of £400, but which he declined because he could not honorably leave Mr. Torrance until the following May, and also because the position demanded a man with some flexibility of conscience in regard to the Sabbath. The pecuniary sacrifice, however, was soon more than made up to him, for he goes on to say,—

"Mr. Torrance then offered me a junior partnership, at the same time with his nephew, Mr. David Torrance, which offer was accepted.

Previous to this, Mr. Christmas, my pastor, called my attention to the work of the Christian ministry, urging my prayerful attention to the question and my duty regarding it. He mentioned that a friend of his, in Philadelphia, would furnish me with the pecuniary means, while he, Mr. C., would prepare me for college. This matter awakened in me intense anxiety as to the path of duty, and led to much prayer, and to seeking counsel especially from my parents. Their advice was very judicious. They

wished me first to consider whether I might not be quite as useful in business, as a lay worker for Christ, since my prospects were so unusually good, and my capacity had been tested. Then, provided I deemed it my duty to give up commerce, whether it were well to place myself in a position of dependence, laying me under obligations which might be embarassing in the future. The result arrived at was to continue, in the meantime, in business."

The generally judicious character of this parental counsel, no one, of course, will be disposed to call in question. Yet we have our fears that many a young man, as surely called to the ministry of the gospel as Henry Wilkes was, is turned aside by this very suggestion of the possibility of his being "quite as useful in business" as in the ministry, and none but the Omniscient knows how near it may have been to becoming successful in his case, or what the loss and damage to the Church of God might have been had it been so. Not every *good* young man "desiring the office of a bishop," is called to this work; but every one in whose heart the enquiry has been awakened as to his duty in this regard ought to give it long and prayerful consideration before deciding so important a point. Satan often comes to us "as an angel of light," and one of the occasions on which he transforms himself most successfully is, when he persuades a gifted young man, whose heart is in the work, to turn aside to "dig in the silver mine" in the hope of doing more with his money than with *himself*, to glorify God. Success in business, in the present day, demands, or at least generally secures, great absorption of mind, and of physical energy, leaving often very little for personal effort to do good; while the effect of this absorption during a long course of years, in too many instances, is to leave very little disposition to use either money or gifts in the service of Christ. The "shilling heart" often comes with the "guinea purse." It might not have been so with Mr. Wilkes, but whether or no, we are profoundly grateful that the temptation failed.

It is pleasant to learn of him that these business trips were not wholly devoted to commercial pursuits, for he says :—

"During my visits to Quebec, I had occasional opportunities of reading my French Testament to French Canadians. One intelligent widow woman, who evidently had doubts of the infallibility of her church, would listen with great interest. Her impressions and resolves were probably but evanescent, as after seeing her priest she told me she could not listen any longer, and if she were in the wrong he (the priest) would be accountable for it. Among the more enlightened of the French Canadians, there was great enjoyment in discussing the points of difference between Protestants and themselves; and although results are not known, may we not hope that some obtained larger and clearer views?

"The Sunday School of the American Church occupied much of my leisure hours, and on each Sunday afternoon, when at home, I had a class of eight youths, among whom were Benjamin and Henry Lyman, with whom I have had a life-long friendship."

Early in 1826, the superintendent unexpectedly asked him to say a few words in closing the exercises of the day. This was his first attempt at "speaking in public," and the appalling effect of the "sea of upturned faces," which met his view on rising to address the school, is compared to the trepidation which might be felt in facing a battery of artillery. He does not, of course, tell us how he succeeded in this "maiden speech;" but he had evidently made a good impression on his fellow-teachers, for he was shortly afterwards elected superintendent of the Branch School at Hochelaga, about two miles below the city, to and from which he regularly walked every Sunday afternoon all through the winter of 1827-28.

Just at this juncture—that is, on the 20th December, 1827, —the jottings inform us,—

"The Canada Education and Home Missionary Society" was formed, the object being to provide for destitute places, faithful, evangelical ministers, either Presbyterian, Congregational, or Baptist. I was made Secretary of that Society, and in that capacity corresponded with other Societies in England and Scotland. Afterwards I was commissioned by the Board of Directors to act for it in England and Scotland, both in regard to funds, and the obtaining of faithful ministers of Christ to labour in Canada."

This Society was the precursor and, in some sense, the parent of the Congregational Missionary Society of Canada

East, which by amalgamation with a similar organization for Canada West, in October, 1853, became the Canada Congregational Missionary Society.

Its first missionary was the Rev. A. J. Parker, of Danville, Quebec, who settled in the township of Shipton, in the year 1829, where he organized the Congregational church still flourishing in that village, and of which he remained its honored pastor for over forty years. About the same time, the Rev. Joseph Gibb, of Banff, in Scotland, who was about to emigrate to the United States, was induced, through representations made to him by Mr. Wilkes of the greater needs of Canada, to change his plan, and came to this country, settling at Stanstead. Several other ministers were persuaded to come out, among others Rev. David Murdoch, who laboured some years at Bath, on the Bay of Quinté, and afterwards removed to the State of New York. In 1831, the Rev. John Smith, of Glasgow, who had recently returned broken down in health, from Serampore, in India, where he had been a missionary, offered himself for service in Canada, in connection with this same Society, and was sent out under its auspices, with the twofold object of training young men for the ministry, and the preaching of the Word. Ultimately he settled in Kingston, as the pastor of the "Union" church in that town. With him came also the Rev. Richard Miles, a returned missionary from South Africa, who, through reading the appeal of the Society, resolved on coming out in company with Mr. Smith, although independently of any help from its funds; and on settling in Montreal, became the founder, and first pastor, of what afterwards was known as Zion Church. Churches of the Congregational order were also established by its instrumentality in Granby, Abbotsford, Waterloo, Russeltown, and other places in Canada East, and were fostered and cared for, until a distinctly Congregational Missionary Society was formed in 1845, and relieved it of the burden of their support.

During the six years of his sojourn in Montreal, Mr. Wilkes tells us he was twice permitted a holiday of sufficient length to visit his parents.

"The first time was in 1825, and I remained with them a week in York (Toronto). I went on horseback from that home to Brantford, on a visit of a few days to my brother John, nearly two years my junior, who was there beginning a business, which, being very successful, led to the transfer of the whole family thither in due time. Returning from York in the mail waggon, we occupied night and day from Monday noon till Wednesday afternoon getting to Kingston, and from that time till Saturday noon before reaching Montreal. Navigation was closed, and this was the land journey of those days!"

It must have been during his next visit to Brantford, in the spring of 1828, just prior to his leaving for Scotland to study, that he established the first Sunday School in that place, the records of which show it to have been organized by him in the beginning of June, 1828. As in the case of a good many other "union" efforts, so in this; the other denominations gradually withdrew from it, and established schools of their own, until it was left in the hands of a few of our own people, who adopted it, and continue to carry it on as the Sabbath School of the Congregational church. Of that school Mr. James Wilkes, a younger brother of the Doctor, and now senior deacon of the church, became the Secretary and Librarian at the time of its organization, and has continu d to discharge the duties of his office ever since—now nearly sixty years!

On entering into the partnership with Mr. Torrance, Mr. Wilkes had expected that three years would elapse before he could carry out his intention of studying for the Christian ministry. Circumstances, however, arose to set him free at the end of one year, and his connection with that house ceased on 1st May, 1828, although he continued to give assistance in the business until July. His share in the profits of the concern had been sufficiently large to warrant him in relinquishing his position, and to make him independent of any pecuniary assistance during his college course. The next

question, and a very important one, to be decided, was, where he should pursue his studies? He had strong leanings towards the United States, through warm attachment to his pastor, and his many friends in the American church. But he was a loyal British subject, contemplating ministerial and missionary work in a British colony, which was fast filling up with immigrants from the three kingdoms; and for these and other reasons he decided to cross the ocean, and enter Glasgow University, with a view to subsequent Theological training in the Congregational Academy under the presidency of the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw. With him he took his brother Frederick (afterwards Judge of the County of Grey,) who also went for the purpose of securing advantages in the way of Grammar School and University education, not then obtainable in Canada. Sailing from Quebec for Greenock, they accomplished the voyage in safety, although at one time in imminent danger of being wrecked upon Jersey Island, through the carelessness of the captain, who, to use the mild phrase employed in describing the incident, "was not a teetotaller!"

The six years spent in Montreal, in business, were always referred to by Dr. Wilkes with evident interest and pleasure. They formed, indeed, an admirable preparation in many ways, for the work which he was afterwards to do, developing in him the tact and sagacity, the mental activity and physical endurance, and the general power of "managing" things (in a good sense) which one in his position needed. His knowledge of men, gained during those years of commercial life, enabled him to avoid the dangers into which many exercising the almost irresponsible power he at one time wielded, as "an unmitred bishop" would have run. He himself saw this, and was thankful for the training, without once regretting the sacrifice he made, of a material kind, or even regarding it as such, that he might preach the Gospel of Christ.

CHAPTER IV.

1828–1832.

On reaching Glasgow, Mr. Wilkes called immediately on Dr. Wardlaw, who, he says,—

"Received me most kindly, and suggested sending at once my application for admission to the Theological Academy, which was done. I united with the church in West George Street under his care, and greatly enjoyed his ministry, which was thoroughly evangelical, expository, clear and thoughtful. I was set to work at once, and frequently appointed to visit candidates for membership, with one of the deacons. On one occasion, I was greatly pleased with a young man with whom we were conversing; and remembering how a suggestion had brought me to think of a new life, I asked him if he had ever thought of devoting himself to the Christian ministry? He replied in the negative. I just threw out the idea, that young men should ask the question of duty in this matter, and left him. Six months afterwards I received a note referring to the conversation, and asking further advice. The result was, giving up his commercial office work, for a course of study. He became the Rev. Robert Lang, of Dundee. A week after arriving in Glasgow, my brother Frederick was invited by Mr. Anthony McKeand, of South Green Bank, to spend a week or two with them, when I proceeded to Manchester and Birmingham. It was pleasant to renew acquaintance with my relations, after an absence of eight years. Having a letter of introduction to the Rev. Thomas Smith, M.A., of Sheffield, he kindly invited me to be his guest for a few days."

Among others whom he met in Sheffield, he tells us he met the poet James Montgomery,—"a man of refined and gentle manners, very affable and conversational," who sent him a copy of his "Songs of Zion," with his autograph on the fly-leaf, and a pleasant little note.

"On returning to Glasgow, I immediately placed myself under the tuition of the Rev. Adam Lillie, who was living in that city, after returning from missionary work in India, in ill health. He had studied in the

University of Glasgow, and also under the late Dr. Bogue, of Gosport, England, and was now supporting himself by teaching Classics and Mathematics. I spent the winter, from October, and part of the summer under his direction, so as to be fitted to matriculate in the autumn of 1829. .....While studying as many hours as practable in order to matriculate in due time, I attended the lectures of Dr. Wardlaw, and Rev. Greville Ewing, in Theology. The former gave us Systematic Theology, and the latter Biblical Introduction, Pastoral Theology, and Homiletics.

My first sermon was preached at Govan, a suburb of Glasgow, on the 26th October, 1828. The following month, in Kilmarnock, on three successive Sundays, I was asked to hold services, to oblige the Rev. John Campbell, the pastor, who was from home. He soon afterwards removed to London, and became minister of the Tabernacle Church; also editor of the *British Banner*, and author of "Jethro," and other works. In subsequent visits to London he always paid me great attention."

After this, preaching engagements seem to have multiplied rapidly, for although it is not usual for students of the first year to be occupied at all in this way, unless in exceptional cases, he was sent, or invited by those who knew his preaching abilities, to Hamilton, Larkhall, Helensburgh, Greenock, Cambuslang, Rutherglen, Alloa, Ayr, and Dunfermline, in the course of the session. The following summer he itinerated in Ireland for some weeks, in company with a Mr. Davis, an Edinburgh gentleman, who was in the habit of taking over to Ireland with him some preacher who was willing thus to spend a working holiday.

"The first discourse," he says, "appears to have been preached in Belfast, 19th July, 1829, and then I find the names Tully Allynbegg, Hervey, Londonderry, Clandy, Golnessie and Belfast. I remember the intense interest I felt in addressing the people in their hamlets. ..... Whether any truly received Christ, as the result of this visit, I know not, but I had many a hearty shake of the hand, and a "God bless you." Mr. Andrew Hamilton, of Yorkville, Ont., wrote to me nearly fifty years after this time, that he had a very distinct remembrance of my sermons in the Congregational Church, Londonderry, of which he was then a deacon. ..... Prior to going to Ireland, I wrote two articles for the *Christian Herald*, the predecessor of the *Congregational Magazine;* one giving an account of the spiritual wants of Canada, and the design of the Canada

Education and Home Missionary Society; the other on "Revivals of Religion," as illustrated by that at Montreal in 1826, already adverted to. ..... I also wrote an article for one of the Greenock papers on the subject of Temperance, meaning at that time, thereby, abstinence from distilled liquors. It, of course, narrated what was being done in this important matter in America. My name was attached to one of the first pledge lists."

While thus busily engaged in study and preaching, Mr. Wilkes was carrying on a correspondence with the Directors of the Home Missionary Society in Montreal, and with various candidates for work in the Canadian field. The first one sent out—Rev. Joseph Barton—had to return to Britain almost immediately in consequence of ill-health, a sore disappointment to the Board, and especially to their young agent. The Rev. John Smith, already referred to, was the next one put under commission, but before sailing for Canada, Mr. Wilkes and he were authorised to seek assistance in England, for carrying on the work. An appeal was accordingly issued by them, as the accredited agents of the Society, to which was appended a recommendation of the mission, signed by a number of the leading ministers of the Congregational churches in London, and elsewhere, among whom we note the names of the Rev. Drs. James Bennett, J. Pye Smith, and Henderson, and of Messrs. John Clayton, H. F. Burder, John Angell James, of Birmingham, Thorp, of Bristol, and others. With such backing, success was, of course, assured, and a large amount of help—nearly £400—was obtained, one gentleman, Mr. Gordon, a Solicitor, giving his check for £100, and the London Missionary Society (which had not yet decided against Canada as not a "Foreign" field) contributing a similar amount. A considerable number of volumes were also given, to form the nucleus of a Library, for the use of Mr. Smith and his anticipated Theological class. These now form a part of the Library of the Congregational College in Montreal.

During this visit, Mr. Wilkes met Dr. Pye Smith, whom he

describes as "extremely interesting, of elegant appearance, refined manners, and brimful of learning."

"I also met with John Clayton, father of John Clayton, Jun., of the Poultry, and George Clayton, of Walworth, very handsome men; they were standing around their father who addressed them as 'dears.' The sight of these three grey headed men (John, Jun. was a grandfather), standing together, formed a picture which remains photographed on my memory. ..... I called on the venerable Rowland Hill, to whom I had sent our circular. When announced, he called out from behind a screen, in a gruff but kindly voice, 'Come here, I am chained like a bear, having hurt my shin getting into my carriage.' I went round, and there sat the grand old man, in his 90th year. He looked at me kindly and said, 'You are from Canada, a young man trying to do good. Well they'll want to make an Independent of you, or a Methodist, or a Presbyterian, or a something else, but don't you be any of these, be a *Christian!* You want money. Well, I am poor just now, having spent a thousand pounds in buying a chapel at Reading—they wanted to put the Church service out of it, and I would have it to remain. John! (calling to his man-servant) bring the check book.' So John brought the book, put the pen in his hand, and he wrote, 'Pay Canada five pounds, R. Hill.' Detaching the cheque, he gave it to me, saying, 'There now, God bless you; go and preach the Gospel faithfully.'"

Dining one day in company with a number of ministers, he relates how

"After dinner they all took long pipes, and smoked, somewhat quizzing me on my refusal to join them in this. Presently we adjourned to Surrey Chapel, to hear the Rev. William Jay, of Bath, preaching on a week-evening for some special object. He discoursed on Christ as the Bread of Life, referring to the existence of appetites, good, natural, and artificial. Appetites led to habits, some of which were good, while others were most objectionable, such as, 'those filthy habits of taking snuff and smoking tobacco.' This came like a bomb-shell into the pews occupied by the ministers, and greatly startled an old gentleman, who, absorbed in the discourse, was mechanically tapping his snuff-box with his finger, ready for a pinch, but instantly conveyed it to his pocket, not a little confused."

Among other places visited on behalf of the Society, was Birmingham, where the Rev. J. A. James invited them to

dinner to meet Mr. Nettleton, the Revivalist Preacher from America. When Mr. Nettleton retired to prepare for his evening service, Mr. James expressed his opinion of his preaching as generally unattractive as to manner, but said, "I would give all my other advantages to be able to probe the conscience as he does. Why, he follows the excuses through every winding, and into every nook and corner of the heart, and unmasks them. It is simply wonderful."

"In 1830, Mr. Edwards, a Baptist minister, from the Ottawa district, visited England and Scotland. He was instrumental in persuading a very excellent man, of large liberal views, Rev. J. Gilmore, to make Canada his home. He came to Montreal, and speedily formed a congregation, Baptists and Independents. My impression is that he also took the Secretaryship of the Society, which had been held by Mr. Wm. Freeland from the time I left, until he removed to Brockville.

The difficulty of carrying on Home Missionary and Educational work, by a union of Presbyterians, Baptists and Independents, began early to appear. Letters from various sources indicated that the Board was only half-hearted. In consulting with the Rev. Greville Ewing and Dr. Patterson, in reference to our Society, and getting aid for the erection of church buildings, they cautioned against making haste, both expressing strongly the opinion that such a union must fail. Mr. Ewing insisted that all experience, up to his day, had shewn, that while catholic expressions may be used freely on the platform, and in conversing as private individuals, yet each *ism* will assert itself as united work begins. So it proved in our first attempt at Missionary work in Canada."

The years of student life rapidly passed, without very much of incident to record. Mr. Wilkes took a high position among his class mates, carrying off prizes in Prof. Buchanan's class in Logic and Rhetoric, and, notably, the first prize in Moral Philosophy, by vote of the class itself. Prof. Milne, who occupied the Chair of Moral Philosophy at this time, is described as having been a man of remarkably clear mind, with great perspicuity of expression, but Utilitarian in Ethics: *desire* was, in his view, "the conception of an attainable good." On one occasion, Mr. Wilkes says:

"I ventured to dispute his theory. My contention was that the intel-

lectual conception was not all; that there was emotion, and that partly springing from character. Virtue, I insisted, was not only useful and promotive of happiness; even not this mainly, but glad obedience to the law of righteousness, and allegiance to the ever blessed God as supreme. Professor Milne was not displeased, but remarked after the reading of the essay, 'You have reared a high standard, Mr Wilkes.' We have in him an exemplification of the utter uselessness of the legal requirement that a man should have a particular creed ere he occupies a Chair in Philosophy. Mr. Milne was pledged to the Confession of Faith, but when, in his prelections, he came athwart any doctrine in that Confession, he was wont to say,—'Gentlemen, I am afraid these sentiments are out of harmony with our Confession of Faith; but this is not the Chair of Theology.' ..... When I went to receive my prize, Professor Milne said, 'I have selected David Hume's Philosophical Works, in four volumes; they will do *you* no harm.'"

Mr. Wilkes' preaching, always thoroughly evangelical in character, was much blessed of God to the conversion of sinners, even at this early period of his ministry. During the session of 1830-31, it would seem to have been specially fruitful in this respect. One after another sought conversation with him in regard to their spiritual interests, while others corresponded with him on these subjects, with the result that several of these inquirers were known to have been led to a confession of Christ. There were many cases, doubtless, of impression and conversion which never came to his knowledge. There was one, however, of a deeply interesting nature, specially deserving of record in these pages. Many years after the event referred to, Charles Livingstone, brother of Dr. David Livingstone, the African Missionary and Explorer, related to Mr. Wilkes the following facts. A shrewd, intelligent man, residing at that time in Hamilton, near to Glasgow, was walking aimlessly in the street, on a Sabbath morning, in deep distress of soul. He knew not what to do, when a friend, directed, doubtless, by the Good Spirit, accosted him, and invited him to the Independent Chapel, where a young man from America was to officiate that day. He

accepted the invitation, and the word preached was blessed to his salvation: he found rest through faith in the crucified and risen Saviour, and in due time connected himself with the church, bringing with him his young family. In that family, the world-renowned David Livingstone was then a boy of thirteen, for his father was the man who on that Sabbath day received the blessing, and Henry Wilkes was the young preacher whom the Lord honoured as the instrument of bringing salvation to that house; and who shall say how far-reaching, upon Africa, and the world itself, shall be the influence of that humble undergraduate sermon!

Among Mr. Wilkes' classmates in the University, we find the names of a number of men who afterwards distinguished themselves in the ecclesiastical, or the literary world; notably Thomas Tait, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, who is described as "a remarkable classical scholar," carrying all before him; James Hamilton, the gifted and cultured writer, and preacher of Regent Square, London; and William Arnot, the scarcely less gifted expositor, and pastor of Free St. Enoch's, Glasgow; to which may be added the name of Christopher Dunkin, afterwards Judge Dunkin, one of our most distinguished Canadian jurists and legislators, for whom Mr. Wilkes always cherished a very high regard. Many years afterwards Mr. Wilkes thus referred to his distinguished classmate:

"My college friend, Christopher Dunkin, became this year (1847) partner with Meredith and Bethune in the practice of law. He had been assistant Secretary of the Province for some years, and had mixed much with political matters during the administrations of Lord Durham, Sir Charles Bagot, Lord Metcalfe, and Lord Cathcart. He gave close attention to the history and bearings of the Seigniorial Tenure by which the lands of the Province were held, and appeared as Counsel for the Seigneurs, before the Legislature at Quebec, when the Bill to abolish the Tenure was under discussion. He was remarkably eloquent on the several occasions of presenting and arguing the case, and succeeded in procuring for them a bargain so much better than they would without him have made, that had they given him a fee of $20,000, the case would have afforded it. My

friend continued his practice till he went into Parliament in 1858; was appointed Treasurer of the Province of Quebec, being a member at once of the Local and of the Dominion Legislatures, and afterwards becoming one of the Cabinet Ministers of the Dominion. He was the author of the "Dunkin (Temperance) Act," and was subsequently made a Judge of the Supreme Court."

Naturally, however, he was most drawn to the kindred spirits of the Theological class-room, of a number of whom he speaks in the following extract,—

"During my first session, I formed a warm friendship with four of my fellow-students, they taking their last year, while I was taking my first. William Harris went to India, where he lost his health, and returned home to die, in a few years. His brother Robert, was the companion of John Williams, and was slain with him by the Cannibals of Erromanga. Edward Napier, who settled at Dalkeith, in a Congregational Church, and had a most successful ministry, but only for a few years, when he was suddenly taken away by death. The other was James Drummond, who was first minister at Queen's Square Chapel, London. After a time he removed to Brockville, in Ontario; from thence to Quebec, where, after a successful ministry, he died of cholera, in 1849. His wife and children remained in Canada. I had a very warm regard for these men, and they for me. They seemed as likely to live and toil as I; and yet they have been at home many many years, while I still am labouring in old age."

Of two others also he speaks, as men whom he had learned to know and respect,—Robert Cotton Mather, afterwards Rev. Dr. Mather, who spent his life as a Missionary in India; and J. Morell Mackenzie, "a man of brilliant parts, highly cultured," who, after a brief but most useful ministry in Glasgow, perished in the steamer "Forfarshire," while on the way from Leith to London, with all on board but two. The last these survivors saw of her, was—a crowd on deck gathered around the young minister, who was lifting up his hands in prayer to God, for himself and those who were sinking with him!

His Theological training having been now almost completed, it was suggested that he should spend the summer of 1832 in Canada, in order to help forward the work already commenced. The Rev. Richard Miles, before referred to, had

begun preaching in Montreal (1831), in Bruce's school-room, McGill St., opposite St. Maurice St., at the earnest request of a few who held Congregational views, and were anxious to promote evangelical teaching in the country. But his hands needed to be strengthened by the appointment of other labourers, and assistance of a material kind; and it was thought that by conference with friends in Canada, and personal inspection, Mr. Wilkes might obtain information that would be of great service in seeking to arouse the British churches to a sense of their duty towards this then young and rising colony.

To this proposal he readily assented, but by the advice of Dr. Wardlaw, before undertaking the voyage, he was ordained as an Evangelist, the service being held in West George St. Chapel, in the month of April, 1832, Dr. Wardlaw, Rev. Grevile Ewing, and others, taking part in the service.

CHAPTER V.

1832–1833.

IMMEDIATELY after his ordination, Mr. Wilkes sailed from Greenock in the brig "Favourite," Captain James Allan, the eldest brother of the late Sir Hugh Allan, for Quebec. There were about one hundred emigrants on board, and the voyage, occupying at least thirty-five days, gave ample opportunities for holding services on Sundays, and occasionally on week evenings, when the weather permitted. There were no "regulations" in those unsophisticated days, as there have been since on some of the great Steamship Lines, confining the privilege of conducting such services to clergymen of one favoured denomination, and Mr. Wilkes, with the captain's hearty concurrence and co-operation, freely availed himself of the opportunities offered. Many of the emigants expressed themselves as greatly benefited by his ministrations, and one of them introduced himself to him, nearly fifty years afterwards, as having been a fellow-passenger on board the "Favourite," and expressed his gratitude for the sermons he then heard, and the counsel given, declaring that they had been the means of leading him to Christ.

Reaching Quebec on the 24th May, 1832, he proceeded at once by steamer to Montreal, and lost no time in conferring with the Directors of the Education and Home Missionary Society, with whose assistance he planned a somewhat lengthened journey, for the purpose of exploring destitute fields, and ascertaining the best means of supplying them with the means of grace.

This journey was to be rendered no less useful, and very much more pleasant, by being made a wedding-trip, as well

as a Missionary tour. On the 5th June, Mr. Wilkes was married to Miss Lucy Hedge, daughter of Mr. Samuel Hedge, of Montreal, an iron implement manufacturer, an estimable christian man, widely connected with the most respectable families in the city. Miss Hedge had received her early education in Ipswich, Vermont, where, at that time, the Rev. Lyman Beecher was minister, and under his teaching she had been led to decision for Christ, and became a most earnest worker in all forms of religious and benevolent effort. On her return to Montreal, upon the completion of her education, she formed the Sunday School to which reference has before been made—the first Sunday School organized, it is believed, in Lower Canada.*

The account of this tour of inspection, and of their subsequent temporary sojourn in Canada, will be largely given in extracts from letters, and Reminiscences. After a brief stay in Montreal, during which he preached for Mr. Perkins in the American Presbyterian Church; for Mr. Miles in the Mansion House; and for Mr. Gilmore in the Baptist Church, he says:—

"By invitation from Mr. William Freeland, my wife and I visited Brockville. He had arranged a meeting in the Court House, for conference on the subject of a Training Institution, and there I also preached. We next proceeded to Kingston, where Mr. Smith was the pastor of Union Church, in which there were members of rare excellence and distinction,—Marshall J. Bidwell, his father, Dr. Armstrong, Mr. Parker and others. Mr. Smith was also preparing students for the ministry. As my object was of an exploratory character, I went back into the country, and preached wherever a few people could be gathered together. Some amusing yet interesting scenes come before my mind. On one occasion, a somewhat large congregation was gathered in the chapel of a village about eighteen miles from Kingston. It was an intensely hot afternoon, and the people were dressed in their home-spun garments, very primitive indeed. There was great attention and quiet, when suddenly, a man immediately in front of the pulpit, who was listening with open eyes and

* On page 19 Dr. Jackson claims this honour for the Rev. Francis Dick, pastor of the Congregational Church in Quebec,—but on whose authority we know not.

mouth, exclaimed, "The Lord send it home to their souls!" It was difficult for a moment to continue the service..... We visited York (Toronto), and there I was introduced to Mr. Leach, minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church (afterwards the Venerable Archdeacon Leach), who asked me to preach, and give some account of our mission and plans. Brantford and other places were visited, ministering everywhere when opportunity was afforded.

During our stay in York, a direct proposal was made to me, namely, that at the completion of my University course, in the following spring, I should come out and undertake the forming of a church there. Four persons, viz., Mr. Peter Freeland, Mr. Lathem, Mr. Russell and my father, would purchase the old Methodist Chapel and parsonage, on King Street, which was then for sale. Regarding this as a remarkably favourable arrangement for the prosecution of my life work, the spiritual good of Canada, I accepted the proposal cheerfully, but was very explicit, not only that their part of the arrangement, the purchase of the property, should be promptly fulfilled, but that I should be informed of it. I drew up a paper in duplicate, giving them one copy and retaining the other. The friends in York said, that all would be in readiness in a few weeks, but as I could not be with them till spring, a definite time was agreed upon—the 1st of December. If no communication reached me by that time, I should be released from my part of the engagement. So convinced was I that this plan would not fail, I packed books and boxes, addressed to York, leaving them in charge, ready for the ensuing summer."

In this expectation, however, he was disappointed, as we shall see presently. The Lord had other work for him just now.

In letters written about this period, mention is made of the awful scourge of cholera by which Montreal was decimated, about three thousand persons having died of that disease in 1832. This, of course, included a large number of emigrants. People were terror-stricken and fled from the city neither knowing how to prevent it, nor how to meet it, when attacked.

Great difficulties now began to shew themselves in the working out of the plans of the Canada Education and Home Missionary Society. The union of the various denominations did not prove a success. The Baptists announced their inten-

tion of withdrawing to form a Society of their own. The only Presbyterians who took any interest, and who really remained with it, were those of the American church in Montreal. The importations from Great Britain, with the exception of a very few, had been to a large extent failures, and the disappointment was very great. The visit, therefore, to Canada did not prove an encouraging one, with regard to the objects of the Society. Yet the preaching tour was not without good results, although at the time, nothing but a sense of discouragement was felt.

In a letter from Hamilton, some years after Dr. Wilkes writes:

"I had a most pleasant surprise this week. Having an hour of leisure, I entered the meeting of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, assembled here. Rev. Thomas Wardrope is Moderator, and seeing me enter, he kindly introduced me by name to the Synod. I briefly responded, and sat down to listen to the proceedings. At the close, I was accosted by one of the ministers, who, introducing himself, asked if I remembered preaching in such a place, at such a time. It was during the visit in 1832. Replying in the affirmative, I had the great happiness of learning that by that discourse, he had in his youth been brought to Christ. For a number of years he has been a useful and earnest minister. Let the seed be sown in faith and prayer, and there will be more fruit than we wot of, through God's rich grace."

Reference is made, in various memoranda, to a movement in Scotland, that resulted in the formation of an Independent church in the Province of Lower Canada. About the year 1829 or 1830, the Duke of Hamilton, desirous of diminishing the population on his estate in the Island of Arran, had obtained a Township of land, about fifty miles from Quebec, and had sent out thereto, under favourable circumstances, a large number of his tenants. They were placed by the Duke under the charge of a Mr. McKillop, who, on his arrival, was made a captain of militia, magistrate, &c. Mr. McKillop was an Independent, as were also a number of the emigrants. They brought with them a Rev. Mr. Henry as their minister.

The church formed soon after their arrival, continues to this day, and its various members, removing elsewhere from time to time, have maintained their principles. One of the sons of Captain McKillop commenced to study for the ministry in the Theological Academy in Toronto, but died before completing the course. Another son is known as the "Blind Bard of Megantic."

Returning to the "jottings," Mr. Wilkes writes:

"We were detained nearly a fortnight at Quebec, waiting for a suitable vessel. During that time of delay, the Rev. J. Robertson, Mrs. Robertson, and their numerous family arrived..... This noble servant of God preached the Gospel not only faithfully, but with remarkable Scriptural fulness of teaching, until he was 86 years of age, and then fell asleep. He formed and built up the churches at Sherbrooke and Lennoxville, and was in all respects an honour to the denomination to which he belonged. Three of his sons became distinguished lawyers; another has been in the Provincial Parliament many years, and also Treasurer of the Province. Two daughters married ministers; another a lawyer; and one is an authoress of no mean repute, and of much usefulness. What elements of power, of the best kind, are brought into a country on such a landing as that! .....

At length we sailed, about the 8th of October, reaching Liverpool in twenty-five days. We proceeded at once to Glasgow, and took up our temporary abode in the home of Mr. McKeand, where, during all my college course, I received the utmost kindness. .....

The labours of my last session at College were successfully prosecuted to the end. I was "capped" by Principal McFarlane, receiving my degree of M.A., in April, 1833. The diploma is signed by a great many of the Professors; has the old fashioned pendant seal attached, and was enclosed in a tin box. .....

The Canadian Mission occupied every moment I could spare from my studies and preaching engagements. In November I wrote to the Rev. G. Collison, London, asking him to confer with Messrs. Thomas and Joshua Wilson, as to the best means of helping Canada. In reply Mr. Collison writes, that a conference had been held, consisting of those named in my letter, with Rev. Dr. H. F. Barder, Rev. Andrew Reed, and Rev. Mr. Halley, at the Congregational Library, Blomfield Street. They agreed to act as a sort of Provisional Committee, to give their judgment as to the fitness of any ministers who might offer themselves for the work:

that for passage money to Canada, and any little outfit necessary, this Provisional Committee would be answerable, yet not in any case to exceed fifty pounds. The location and salary of such ministers to be provided for by the Committee of the Canada Education and Home Mission Society. Little could come of such arrangements, for without aid in supporting ministers for some years after their arrival, they could not be placed so as to continue their labours, and the local funds in Canada were wholly inadequate for this purpose. The Society had already several excellent ministers to support—Rev. Mr. Parker of Danville, one at Compton, one at Granby, and it may be others; thus their funds, which were small, were fully employed.

My announcement to friends in Canada of these decisions, greatly disappointed them, and there were not lacking complaints that I did not go through the land, stirring up the slumbering energies of the British churches: while, on the other hand, I was crowded with necessary engagements, as a student; had to look forward to an early decision as to my future course, and knew well that, whatever had been my leisure, I had not power to arouse in this fashion. Previous efforts had proved to me the insuperable difficulties in the way of a stranger attempting anything of this sort, with hope of success.

The time agreed upon when I was to receive the communication from York was past. My perplexities multiplied exceedingly, and I became, for me, *thin*, by reason of anxiety and suspense.

I had not received a penny for the expenses of my two voyages and journeyings of 1832, and these made a considerable inroad upon the little money I had to start with. ..... I waited two months beyond the specified time agreed upon, and then felt a decision must be made. Two spheres of labour were presented to me. The deacons of Ramsden Street chapel, Huddersfield, urged a visit there with a view to my settlement, the Rev. Mr. Eagleson having recently died. Albany Street church, Edinburgh, by its officers, pressed the claims of that church, obtaining interviews with me, and corresponding. I was sorely perplexed. On the one hand was Canada, to which I had devoted myself; but the York plan had failed, as I supposed, and I feared if I went out in uncertainty, I might be obliged to go to the States, or be forced back to commerce. On the other hand, both Huddersfield and Edinburgh presented attractive fields of labour, and I could watch for opportunities of promoting the welfare of Canada, and perhaps, at length, go out there, fairly backed by the British churches. The realization of this "perhaps," I fully expected in due time. At length I accepted the call to Edinburgh, in the end of Feb-

ruary. The membership of the church was 144, of whom 140 signed the call. Four objected on the ground of my inexperience, but were not unfriendly.

Toward the end of March, the documents came from York, in due order, with apologies for dilitoriness. It was too late, and I replied at length, with explanations as to my course, stating that I had waited nearly three months beyond the time agreed upon. I am glad to say, the property bought at York was immediately sold at an advance, so that I did not cause financial loss, at all events.

Letters full of bitter complainings, were received from Canada, in acknowledgment of my decision. It was hard to bear the charge of desertion of the land, and the cause to which I had devoted myself, and concerning which I had spoken and written so much. I seemed to lie under the charge of treason, while conscious it was wholly unjust."

CHAPTER VI.

1883-1836.

THE church in Albany Street, Edinburgh, was in a somewhat peculiar position at the time Mr. Wilkes accepted the charge of it. The building had been leased to another congregation for two years, for the purpose of lessening the debt, the congregation in the meantime occupying a public hall. This expedient had improved the financial position of the church, but on their return to Albany Street at the close of 1832 it was found that numerically they had been weakened by it. Their previous ministers had been men of mark. The Rev. Gilbert Wardlaw was their pastor for several years, but he had relinquished his charge to become Professor of Theology in the Blackburn Theological Academy. They had also previously enjoyed, for eight years, the ministry of the Rev. George Payne, D.D., subsequently Theological Professor in the College at Plymouth, England, and also the author of several able works on Mental Science and Theology.

The church had since been three years without a settled pastor, supply having been secured from Sabbath to Sabbath, as they were able to obtain it. This had engendered a critical spirit not at all to the profit of the hearers, who were not satisfied with less than three sermons a day. Moreover, among its members there were several men who had been pastors of other churches, and an impression was abroad, rightly or wrongly, that it was a very difficult sphere to occupy. Dr. James Kennedy, then a young man, attending Edinburgh University, and a member of this church, says of it at this period :

"The church and congregation was small, but though weak in numbers, I well remember, their staunch attachment to Evangelical doctrine and Congregational Church Government. They were the worthy representatives of the promoters of Scottish Congregationalism."

It might have seemed almost presumption in a young man, with so little experience, to undertake such a charge, and it would have been so, had there not been dependence on a strength beyond his own. Henry Wilkes, while possessing naturally great courage and self-reliance, had so humble an estimate of his own abilities and judgment, that he deeply felt the need of divine guidance, in so perplexing a crisis, and most earnestly did he pray that he might be made to know the will of God in this matter. The result proved that he was guided aright.

The induction services took place on the 10th of April, 1833.

The following very full and interesting account of the services on that occasion, taken, somewhat abbreviated, from the "Christian Herald," is sent us by the Rev. G. D. Cullen, of Leith.

Dr. Patterson, of Edinburgh, and Mr. Watson, of Musselburgh, having led the devotional exercises,

"Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow, delivered the introductory discourse from Acts ii. 47. It was rich in Scriptural illustration, which was clothed in Dr. Wardlaw's beautiful and impressive style of expression. Mr. Aikman then requested Mr. Wilkes to state the reasons which had induced him to comply with the invitation of the church, and what were his intentions respecting the discharge of the duties of pastor. Upon these subjects Mr. Wilkes stated his views at length, and we have complied with his own request, by subjoining his statements regarding the first of the above particulars. Mr. Aikman offered the ordination prayer in a solemn and impressive manner, accompanied by the imposition of hands. The pastor and the church were then severally addressed on their respective duties,—the former by Mr. Ewing, of Glasgow, in a faithful and affectionate charge, founded on 1 Timothy iv. 6; and the latter by Mr. Russell, of Dundee, in an able and energetic discourse from Heb. xiii. 20, 21; and Mr. Cleghorn concluded the services by prayer. The chapel was crowded in every part, and notwithstanding the unavoidable length to which the services extended, the interest was kept up to the close.....

In the evening, after praise and prayer by Mr. Knowles, of Linlithgow, our worthy friend and brother, Mr. John Campbell, of Kingsland, delivered a striking and characteristic discourse to a numerous audience, from 2

Cor. iv. 7; and Mr. Cullen, of Leith, concluded by prayer the services of the day.

On the following Sabbath Mr. Ewing introduced the pastor to his charge in an excellent discourse founded on Hebrews xiii. 17, and preached again in the evening from Psalm xlv. 16. Much interest was excited by all the services, and the congregations on the Sabbath were large and attentive.....

Mr. Wilkes spoke as follows,—

"It is usual on an occasion like the present, when an individual is for the first time publicly and solemnly commended to the grace of God for the work of the pastoral oversight of any portion of Christ's flock, for him to lay before those present, statements upon the following topics. 1st, An outline of his views of divine truth; 2d, A brief account of his religious experience, together with his motives for desiring the work of the Gospel ministry; 3d, His general intentions with respect to the fulfilment of its duties.

"On the 10th April last year, the individual who now addresses you, presented such statements in Dr. Wardlaw's chapel, Glasgow, on the occasion of his being set apart to the work of the holy ministry generally, and commended to the protection and blessing of God for a particular mission. ....It is hence, I apprehend, quite unnecessary at this time to trespass upon your attention by the repetition of what was then stated.....

"There is, however, a peculiarity in my case which requires explanation. The present step involves a change of previous intentions and prospects with respect to the sphere of my future labours,—the cause of which will be, very probably, misapprehended. It appears of importance, therefore, both for the vindication of my own character for consistency of purpose and of conduct, and for the prevention of mistakes regarding the important cause with which I have been identified, that I should offer a few self-justificatory remarks.....

"It is very obvious that much of the beneficial influence of a minister's labours, must depend upon the blame lessness of his personal character. Unless he affords in his own private and public conduct a practical exemplification of the truths which he preaches,—success is almost, if not altogether out of the question! As then the influence which his conduct exerts is of a moral nature, it is of the utmost importance, not only that he should *act* with a *conscious* integrity of purpose, but also that it should *appear to all* that he thus acts. He should allow no misapprehension of his motives or of his procedure to remain in any mind, which it is possible for him to remove;—he should study to have a conscience void of offence, not only

towards God, but towards men ; and to provide for honest things in the sight of the Lord and in the sight of men.

"Now, as I have for several years been identified with evangelical efforts to extend the knowledge and influence of the Gospel throughout Upper and Lower Canada,—and as I have had a general intention, during the course of my preparatory studies, to proceed to Canada after their completion, for the purpose of labouring there in the ministry of the Gospel, —my present engagement looks like a shrinking from arduous and self-denying toil in a foreign land, and a preference, for the sake of ease, respectability, and other personal advantages, for an apparently eligible situation at home. My object at present is to remove such an impression, and to give my reasons for thinking myself now in the path of duty."

Mr. Wilkes here stated that he was born in England;—that from his infancy he had been favoured with the instructions and prayers of pious parents;—that at the age of 15 he removed with the family to America ; and that during several years of his residence in Canada he had been engaged in commercial pursuits. A brief narration was also given of the circumstances which led him to turn his attention to the work of the ministry.

"Fully persuaded that no man ought to trust himself into an office so important, and attended with such heavy responsibility, and that without a distinct call from God I ought not to move a step,—the inquiry was made, 'What constitutes such a call?' Upon this topic I arrived at the following conclusion: The man is called who possesses—1st, Personal piety; 2d, Sufficient intellectual endowments and attainments; 3d, An irrepressible desire for the work ; and 4th, A clear opening in the arrangements of Divine Providence. The *first*, being a matter between the Great Searcher of hearts and my own soul, formed the subject of personal examination. Of the result you are informed. The *second* I left very much to the decision of intelligent Christian friends, aware, of course, that a larger measure of *attainments* must be sought. Of the *third* I was conscious ; I did earnestly desire the salvation of souls, and in some degree, I trust, the glory of God. Respecting the *fourth*, I had for some time my difficulties in consequence of commercial engagements. At the termination of a period of about a year and a half, however, Divine Providence opened my way honourably out of business, with a sufficient sum of money to enable me to prosecute my preparatory studies, entirely independent of extraneous pecuniary aid. It is true my prospects in commercial pursuits were of the most flattering nature—presenting a probability, with ordinary success, of acquiring a handsome competency, and I was not entirely in

active in the best of causes as a private member of a Christian church; but believing that I could, with the blessing of God, do more for his cause in the world by devoting myself to it in this specific manner, I was enabled, I trust by Divine grace, to sacrifice those worldly advantages which appeared so flattering, for the far less *lucrative*, but immensely more *important* work of the Gospel ministry. Nor have I seen cause to regret the sacrifice.

"In pursuance of this determination, I sailed from Quebec nearly five years since, to seek in Scotland those intellectual and moral advantages which I deemed necessary to the efficient performance of the high duties to which I looked forward. The Lord has richly blessed me with many great privileges during my residence in Glasgow, not the least of which were, the instructions of my beloved and revered tutors now present.....

"While it has been my decided intention, during the period of my residence in Scotland, to "spend and be spent" in the service of the Lord *in Canada;* yet I continually refused to *pledge myself* upon the subject, before the time when it would become a duty to decide respecting the sphere of my labours. My reason for this refusal, was a desire to ascertain the will of the Great Head of the church. I believe it to be, not an enthusiastic anticipation, but a rational and well-founded hope which the Christian entertains—that if he prayerfully and carefully watches the indications of the Divine will, he will never he at a loss to ascertain the path of duty.....

"During my residence in this country I have acted as the Agent of a Society in Montreal, of which, previous to my leaving Canada, I was a Director. It was formed about six years since, for the two-fold purpose of training up pious young men for the Gospel ministry, and of sending what suitable preachers could be obtained to the destitute parts of the country; with an engagement on our part to assist in their support, so far as the benevolence of the Christian public might enable us.....

"Various causes which it would be out of place now to enumerate, led several friends in Canada to send me an urgent request to spend the summer of 1832 in that country, for the purpose of assisting them in the good work in which they were engaged.....After much prayerful consideration I decided to comply with this request.....

"The result of my own observation, and of the experience of those Christian brethren with whom I co-operated, was, that unless permanent aid could be obtained from British Christians, any extensive efforts for the evangelization of Canada, and especially for planting Scriptural churches there, were out of the question. An equally firm conviction was produced

upon my own mind, and upon the minds of some others, that unless one or more ministers *resident* in this country could be prevailed upon to take a deep interest in this object,—such were the number and engrossing importance of the calls continually pressed upon the attention of the British public from other quarters, that it was improbable anything like permanent aid could be depended upon.....

"At the same time I deemed it my duty to look around me while there, if peradventure I might see a spot where I might, with the Divine blessing, be extensively useful when I finally returned to settle in the country.

"The result of my observation was as follows; There were, perhaps, hundreds of places—important certainly in themselves, as every place must be where souls are perishing for lack of knowledge—but in which a minister could exert only a local influence. He might cultivate the little spot around him, but his local situation would almost necessarily prevent him from making any feasible attempt to move the constantly increasing mass of mind which those Colonies contain. There was one apparent opening of a different nature. It was in a large and rapidly increasing town in which, owing to various peculiar advantages, a minister might not only exert a powerful influence on the country by his personal labours, but also might assist in the direction of evangelical efforts which would reach the remotest corners of the country. On the application of a few friends in that place, I promised to return, and to labour among them, on the condition that they consummated certain arrangements *proposed by themselves*, and apparently essential to the success of the attempt. A specific period was named within which the arrangements were to be completed, and the requisite information forwarded to me. It was, furthermore, understood that my engagement to refuse attention to other applications should cease on a particular day. Soon after my arrival, I received an application from a place in Britain—but I deferred a definite reply to it, or any other, until the period named should expire. I waited until *six weeks* after that period had expired, and until letters written two months after the date agreed upon would have reached me, and yet not a sentence upon the subject was either directly or indirectly communicated to me by any of the parties. During this period of anxious suspense, my attention was directed by friends to one or two important spheres of labour in Great Britain; and at its close, an affectionate letter was addressed to me by the church assembling in this place, containing an invitation, *virtually unanimous*, to take the pastoral oversight of them in the Lord.

"The state of the case presented to my mind, was this: On the one hand, Canada presented itself as an important and lamentably destitute field of labour, and it had ever been my intention to go thither as a labourer

My much revered and beloved parents were there, and were anxious for my return. My brothers and sisters were there, and were equally desirous that I should return. Christian friends, also, whom I love, and with whom I have co-operated, would gladly welcome me back. Hence every merely personal feeling excited an influence to induce me once more to set my face towards the Western world.—On the other hand, Divine Providence seemed to shut me out of the place before alluded to. Were I to remain in this country, it might be in my power to obtain twenty or more individuals, equally well, if not better qualified to fill the numerous places, the nature of which I have specified.... Finally, a most interesting and important station offered itself in this city; to which, althongh I deeply felt my inadequacy for the undertaking, I was encouraged to come by the cordial and affectionate invitation of the church, and especially by the great and precious promises of that God whose I am, and whom I profess to serve.

"The decision involved the sacrifice of much tender filial and fraternal feeling; but as it was not made hastily, and wa sin accordance with the unanimous opinion of my beloved father and brethern, to whose consideration I submitted the case, all of whom are now present;—and further, as it was the deliberate conviction of my own mind with respect to the path of duty, after much prayerful consideration, I by no means regret it, although subsequent information has shewn, that the arrangements in Canada were completed *three months after the period agreed upon*, and that the parties had *carelessly neglected to request delay*, or to give me any intimation whatever upon the subject. I look upon all this, as far as it respects myself, as affording an indication of the will of the Head of the Church concerning me; and we may be able to fill up the vacant spot with a more efficient labourer than I should have proved.

"Mr. Wilkes then described his views in accepting the solemn charge. Rev. Dr. Russell, of Dundee; Rev. Mr. Aikenside, of Kirkaldy; and Rev. George Cullen, of Leith, were present, and most of them took some part in the exercises."

The following extracts from his "jottings," afford us some glimpses of his church work, and life in Edinburgh:

"During the five years of sojourn in Glasgow, I had attended as regularly as practicable, the church meetings, in Dr. Wardlaw's, so that I knew a little of how to preside and guide in the various deliberations that might present themselves. Soon after my settlement, I asked for an addition to the number of deacons, believing it to be very desirable to have a large diaconate, that the safety connected with "a multitude of counsellors" might be gained, and that as far as practicable, all sections of the church might be represented.

Every month pastor and deacons met at each others houses, for conference. The wants of the poor and the distribution from the "Fellowship Fund" were considered. The collections, if any, were appointed for the month, new comers to the congregation were spoken of and special visits were agreed to. Cases requiring disciplinary action were examined, and all preparatory work for the church meeting was talked over..... The work was hard, but pleasant, I had true men, who loved Christ and His cause, to work with, and although many of them were of advanced years, and some had occupied the position of pastors and teachers, they fully respected my pastoral relation with its attendant authority.

I had no stock of sermons to begin with, for I had already given to them all my student discourses fit to present. My method was to prepare carefully and to write pretty fully, but not to read or use notes. This involved the writing of two discourses a week. I had declined the third service; it was provided for otherwise.

On one evening of the week I held a Bible-class, which was largely attended by young men and women, some of the former being students in the University, and many of the latter well educated women. This class was continued throughout my three years' pastorate, and from it many became interested in the study of the Scriptures, and the membership of the church was increased from its ranks. I would mention the names of John and James Kennedy as members of this class, afterwards the Rev. Dr. John Kennedy of Stepney, London, and the Rev. James Kennedy, many years missionary in India; the Rev. David Russell, son of Dr. Russell, of Dundee; the Rev. Messrs. A. and J. Stronach, for about thirty years missionaries in China. John, after thirty-three years' labour, retired, and after crossing to San Francisco, made quite a long journey to pay me a visit in 1876."

The Rev. James Kennedy, writes,—

"I attended the Bible-class, and was struck with the evidently resolute effort Mr. Wilkes made to conduct it in the most efficient manner. He had always his note book before him, containing the result of his careful preparation of the passage under consideration. There was no slipshod diffuse talk. Everything was to the point, and the entire way in which the class was taught was eminently fitted to do good. The young people became much attached to him, and received great benefit from these classes. Dr. Chalmers was one of my professors in the University, but I did not experience any unpleasant going down, when I went to the Albany Street Chapel Bible-class..... I well remember the new aspect of

things in 1833-4. The new pastor's pulpit ministrations were greatly appreciated. His preaching was vigorous both in style and delivery; it was Scriptural and faithful. It was searching for both saints and sinners. The other day a lady, an old member of Albany Street reminded me that he never forget to say something to 'my impenitent hearers.' His expositions and sermons (he generally expounded in the forenoon) indicated careful preparation. His sermons were unread; there was little indication of his repeating them from memory, but they were written, as I remember instances of compliance with a request for perusal after their delivery. They were valued, not for their profundity or eloquence, but for their clear manly style, their instructive character, and their fitness to do good. Mr. Wilkes was not a mere preacher. He was a faithful and indefatigable pastor. In addition to a ready response to visit the sick and afflicted, he carried out a personal visitation. His people were scattered over Edinburgh. They were divided into districts, and arrangements were made with some one in the district to have his house open in the evening for the meeting of the pastor with persons to whom he could not find access during the day. Prayer-meetings were also held in each district, under the presidency of a deacon, or some other person qualified to take charge. A weekly evening service was held, and the address delivered at it indicated the care with which efficiency was sought. *Thoroughness* was a marked characteristic of the entire pastorate. This was always accompanied with a kindness and courtesy, and with a sympathy, which secured not only esteem but love. The church-meetings were characterized by the kindly, wise, and firm administration so indispensable to pastoral success. I never knew a church where so much of the *family* feeling prevailed. I have always retained a most pleasant recollection of my intercouse with Albany Street friends, and very specially of the period when Mr. Wilkes was pastor. His departure was greatly regretted, not only by his own people, but by many outside his circle." .....

The Rev. John Kennedy, D.D., late of Stepney, London, writes,—

"If I might venture to give my impression of the Albany Street church in 1832, I would say they had a very good opinion of themselves, and were very critical hearers. How far this arose from the circumstance that the pulpit was occupied by a variety of preachers, some Scotch, some English, some old, some young, and the people in listening were always thinking of the fitness of the preacher for the pastorate, I do not know.

There was a Sunday morning prayer-meeting of young men, which I remember with much interest. The only survivors of this company, in

addition to my brother James and myself, are William Somerville, o Bilton, near Bristol, and Mr. John Stronach, who was a missionary to China for full forty years, taking also an important part in the work of Bible translation.

When it was proposed to elect Mr. Henry Wilkes to the pastorate, I had the happiness of giving my vote in support of the proposal. There were a few who would have preferred another, but the election once completed all division, I may add, all criticism, came to an end. Mr. Wilkes' preaching was so intensely earnest and practical that it overbore, or quenched, all disposition to criticise He was the man of God, and his work was to save souls. The people felt this, and a new era, as it seemed to me, dawned upon the church. The young pastor was not content with pulpit work; he visited the people in their homes, with his heart intent on the object which inspired him in the pulpit. I lodged in the house of a couple who were members of the church, and I well remember a pastoral visit which he paid to them, when I happened to be present. He no sooner entered than he took hold of a young lad, the only child in the family, and holding him between his knees spoke to him of Christ; the visit closed with prayer; there was no time lost in gossip. The visitor was altogether like a man who was engaged on the King's business, and could make no delay.

There is one incident of which I have a very vivid recollection, but it concerns myself rather than Mr. Wilkes. He sent for me one Saturday and said, in his own loving but peremptory way, 'My dear friend, you must preach for me to-morrow evening.' He was ill and could not preach. The service was special. My reply was, 'Impossible!' 'Why? you have preached not only in the villages, but to churches in Alloa, Falkirk and other places.' 'That's a very different thing from preaching in Albany Street.' But it was of no avail; I must do it. The prospect was nothing less than dreadful. I was only twenty years of age; the Albany Street people, with whom I was acquainted, loomed before me as a very superior sort of people, and ill to please. Well, I did preach, and had an experience which I have had altogether only three times in my lifetime. My mouth became dry as a stick, and 'my tongue cleaved to the roof of my mouth.' I must ascribe it to the goodness of my Divine Master that I soon acquired calmness and self-possession, and was enabled to preach with some freedom. When I reminded Dr. Wilkes of the circumstance last summer, he remembered it perfectly, and said good-humouredly that

he was ill of mumps at the time! He recalled a similar incident in his own experience when a student in Glasgow.*

I may add that when I had the pleasure, with many others, of seeing and hearing Dr. Wilkes last summer, he seemed to me as youthful in spirit as if he had been fifty years younger. The freshness and vivacity of the man of eighty was a wonder to many. To me it was a joy more than I can express."

The Rev. David Russell, of Eglinton Street church, Glasgow, who went from Dundee to Edinburgh in the autumn of the year 1834, writes:

"I became a member of Albany Street church, which was then under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Henry Wilkes. I continued in its membership for two years, during the greater part of which he remained pastor. This short time is too far back in the past for me now to recall any special incidents of church life, but I soon saw that he had infused his own spirit of genial brotherly fellowship into his flock. I have never met nor heard of any church in which there was a larger amount of the fellowship of brethren described in the Apostolic Epistles. It pervaded every movement, and was specially prominent at the prayer-meeting on the morning of the Lord's Day, and at the weekly meeting on the Thursday evening. The church was felt to be a home, and strangers joining it breathed its atmosphere, and gradually shared in all its work.

Dr. Wilkes prepared his sermons with scrupulous care, and communicated in them the results of mature thought and exact study. The manner, too, in which he delivered them added greatly to their interest and force. While I was in the church the late Rev. William Lindsay Alexander, D.D., was ordained as colleague to the Rev. John Cleghorn, over Argyle Square church. Dr. Alexander and Dr. Wilkes had much intercourse with each other, and enjoyed each other's friendship. Dr. Alexander often spoke of Dr. Wilkes' removal to Canada as a life-long loss."

Reference is made in the "jottings" relating to this period to an interesting correspondence begun in Glasgow the previous autumn, and renewed after his removal to Edinburgh, in which

*The incident referred to, as related by Dr. Wilkes, is as follows:—"The first Sunday of every month, Dr. Wardlaw had a special sermon, when the church was always crowded. On one such occasion he became suddenly ill, and sent for me to be ready to take that service. There was no help for it; I had to face the immense audience of disappointed people. After devotional exercises I said, "No one in this congregation can feel more disappointed at seeing me in this place, instead of Dr. Wardlaw, than I am myself; but as he could not be here we will consider, as best we may, the words of the Psalmist, in Psalm cxxx, 4."

a lady, signing herself J. H. Bell, mentions a sermon he had preached in Dr. Wardlaw's pulpit a year before, which greatly distressed her. While fully concurring in the doctrinal statements made, she nevertheless declares that the discourse robbed her of all hope of salvation. She regarded herself as abandoned of God, in consequence of having sinned remedilessly against the Holy Spirit, being utterly hard of heart, and yet evidently anxious to learn whether, in the opinion of her correspondent, there was the slightest hope in her case. No copies of the replies sent her are preserved, but subsequent letters from her show that a most earnest and prayerful effort was made to relieve her distress of mind, and to set her free from the snare of the enemy. Mr. Wilkes says,—

"I became exceedingly interested in her case..... Several times I asked for a conversation, but she steadily declined that, as it could not be obtained without some explanation on her part to her friends as to the why and wherefore, and she could not bear that any of them should have the slightest suspicion of her mental and spiritual condition.

Just about the time of my leaving for Edinburgh, I suspected that my correspondent was using an assumed name, and that I actually had an acquaintance with the family of which she was member. I immediately communicated my suspicions which drew forth a very humble apology. Her anxiety to avoid the possibility of anyone being acquainted with her state of mind was the excuse for adopting the course she did. I invited her to come and spend a few days with us in Edinburgh. This she could not do, but I had one personal interview with her, on a visit to Glasgow. I am wholly unaware of the result, but hope she found peace and joy in the Father and Son, through the grace and power of the Holy Spirit. Perhaps, he adds, regretfully—if I had then had clearer views of the Divine Fatherhood, in addition to His kingly reign and glory, my explanations, arguments and appeals, might have told better."

His reference to the voluntary Controversy, which was already raging furiously, and issued, ten years later, in the great Free Church Secession, are interesting.

"It roused the whole nation. The memoirs of Dr. Guthrie, and of Dr. Chalmers, refer to it on their side of the question, while many of us were active and persistent on our side. Dr. Wardlaw preached and published

on the subject. We held public meetings, and made speeches. It was discussed in coaches and steamboats, at the street corners, and by the way in walking, at the fireside, and the social party.

At the request of the Young Men's Society at Leith, I preached a sermon on the subject, which was published; I also delivered a lecture, one in a course of six or eight by different ministers; mine was on the argument to be drawn from the experience of the United States of America."

A three years' pastorate in such a city as Edinburgh, naturally threw Mr. Wilkes into the society of many of its best and noblest men, both in the church to which he belonged, and also of other communions. For although there was then but little interchange of those denominational courtesies which happily now prevail so widely, the love of Christ, and of the brotherhood, instinctive in all true disciples, drew him to all good men around him, and them to him, and led to the formation of many pleasant and valued friendships. Among those to whom he was specially drawn was Dr. Beilby, whom he characterizes as "the good physician," a member of Mr. Innes' Open Communion Baptist church, but a pewholder also in Albany Street, of which some of his family became members. Others named are, the Rev. William Innes, Rev. Dr. John Brown, Mr. Adam Black, Mr. Aikenhead, of the "lang toon o' Kirkaldy," "dear Napier," of Dalkeith, Rev. George Cullen, of Leith, and good old "Bishop Watson," at Pinkieburn, pastor at Musselburgh, of whose godly conversation and "gooseberries" he seems to have preserved a lively recollection.

"Dr. Patterson was a sort of staff to lean upon, while Mr. Aikman and Mr. Cleghorn, both old men, were always true friends. Rev. Mr. Aikman died early in 1834. His successor was Wm. Lindsay Alexander, who was for several years Classical and Mathematical Tutor at Blackburn Theological Academy. He was ordained to the pastorate of the North College Street church in the beginning of 1835. I preached the introductory discourse. He was a much loved friend during my stay in Edinburgh. It was one of the sacrifices made in leaving, to be deprived of his most pleasant and instructive society. We were joint Editors of '*The Scottish Congregational Magazine*,' from the beginning."

Some little confusion seems to have existed in Mr. Wilkes' mind in regard to the joint-editorship aforesaid, since in another memorandum he says:

"The closing weeks of the year (1834) were partly occupied in preparation for assuming the editorship of the Denominational Magazine. It had been named "*The Christian Herald*," it was henceforth to bear the title of "*The Scottish Congregational Magazine*." My impression of having been the responsible editor during 1835 was so strong, that I was surprised on turning up the columns the other day to find there were two editors, and I really cannot remember who the other was, unless it was Mr. Alexander."

The following extract from a letter from the Rev. George D. Cullen, of Leith, throws light on the subject.

ROYAL TERRACE,
EDINBURGH, 15th March, 1887.

"MY DEAR MRS. WILKES,

.....Henry Wilkes came from Canada to Scotland in 1828. I was then Secretary to the Glasgow Theological Academy to which he made application, and was admitted. We became intimate friends, and saw a good deal of each other, though I was resident in Leith, and he a student in Glasgow.

You tell me you have recovered a letter from me, written in Leith in 1833. In that year he was ordained in Edinburgh, and from that time we were, for some years, great companions, as young pastors. He joined me in 1835 as a fellow-editor, along with Edward Napier, of Dalkeith, of the new '*Scottish Congregational Magazine*,' then started.

.....I was very sorry that when he was in Scotland the other day we did not meet; but you don't seem to be aware that he wrote from Glasgow a long and deeply interesting letter to me, which I fully answered,—at least, that is my recollection, and not, I trust, a dream, old man as I am, compassed with infirmities. At the time he wrote, referring to you tenderly, I think you were "doon the watter." May you be comforted and sustained with consolation, all the more by your recollections of your married life.

Believe me, yours sincerely and affectionately,
G. D. CULLEN."

With this agrees the statement of the biographer of Dr. Alexander.

"In 1836 Mr. Alexander became one of the editors of the *Congregational Magazine*, his colleague being the Rev. Henry Wilkes, of Albany Street church, Edinburgh. On the departure of Mr. (now Dr.) Wilkes for Montreal, in the course of 1836, Mr. Alexander became sole editor, of which fact he reminded his hearers by saying that the "editorial *we* now meant one man, who had many irons in the fire besides this."

Mr. Cullen must, therefore, have been Mr. Wilkes' associate during 1835.

At the end of the first year of his ministry in Edinburgh there had been added to the membership of the church forty-nine persons, while other ten were candidates for admission. The congregation had grown to an average of between five and six hundred. Several persons of superior social position and culture were brought under his influence, and led to decide for Christ, and to unite with the church. One of these was the Hon. Mrs. Welman (sister of the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel), who spent some years in Edinburgh, for the education of her son; and a Miss Campbell, daughter of John Campbell, Esq., of Carbrooke, a young lady of remarkable traits of character, highly cultivated, who, alas! passed away while her pastor was yet in Edinburgh. "God gave me a success," he writes, "far beyond my most sanguine expectations!"

A deputation from the London Missionary Society, for which a collection was annually taken up, regularly visited them.

"One year the Rev. Dr. Raffles gave us an eloquent discourse; another, Richard Knill, himself formerly a missionary at Nagercoil, and then in St. Petersburgh, electrified us by his earnest appeals.

I have special interest in referring to the visit of Rev. John Williams, the Martyr of Erromanga. He was my guest during his brief stay. I went with him to Dalkeith, where we held a meeting. He advocated abstinence from all intoxicants. In his own straightforward way, he said, 'Look at me, I am a living specimen of the needlessness of alcoholic stimulants. For twenty-five years I have been exposed to vicissitudes by sea and land, and have never taken any.' He was a fine specimen of physical vigor. He delighted his audiences with his homely and simple statements of work and progress. His anecdotes and descriptions of life

in the South Sea Islands were inimitable, many of them are to be found in the 'Narrative' he published.

In 1835 we were favoured by visits from several distinguished American clergymen. They, for the most part, came over to return the compliments paid by the English Congregationalists in sending over to both Congregationalists and Presbyterians, the deputation in 1834, consisting of Dr. Andrew Reed and Dr. James Matheson, Mr. Ewing's son-in-law. Dr. Gardner Spring and daughter, of New York, came in June. He preached in Albany Street church to a crowded audience. Mr. Alexander, father of Dr. W. L. Alexander, said to me in going out, 'Mr. Wilkes, I am not surprised at American Revivals of Religion, after that sermon.' Dr. Codman, of Dorchester, Boston, with wife and two daughters came in July. He preached in the West Kirk in the morning, and for me in the evening. In August, President Humphrey, of Amherst College, was my guest for a week. He also preached for me, as did Dr. Cox, of New York, during their visit."

We obtain some glimpses of their domestic life during this period in letters written to friends principally in Canada.

The house to which Mr. and Mrs. Wilkes went on their arrival in Edinburgh, was in Cumberland Street, and was mostly furnished by the friends in Albany Street church, who thus testified, in a practical way, to the cordiality and kindliness of their welcome. A son was born early in May. More than fifty years afterwards, on hearing of the birth of a grandchild, Dr. Wilkes, wrote:

"I can enter into the feelings of the young parents, for I can even now remember the thrill of joy and responsibility I experienced when I first realized that an immortal being was committed to our care. God grant that grace may be given to fulfil the important trust."

A year after, the senior deacon, in the name of the church, sent £20, "as a token of their appreciation, and an acknowledgment of their gratitude to God for the success vouchsafed."

This was a welcome addition (writes the recipient) to a stipend of £150 which, however, I found it needful to eke out by keeping a boarder."

In July, 1834, a fortnight's holiday was taken. To his mother he writes,—

"We went southward to visit our friends in Birmingham. Lucy is not strong, and the change I hope has proved beneficial. The dear child was left in charge of kind friends. I preached on both Sundays and spoke on week days, trying to do something for Canada. Thus although enjoying a pleasant change I was not idle."

In October, he went to Wigton, Cumberlandshire, to open the new Independent chapel erected by the congregation of which the Rev. C. Leighton was then the minister. Sir Wilfred Lawson, father of the present Baronet, is referred to as one of the members,—"a most unpretentious Christian man." All the ministers taking a part in the service were invited the next morning to his beautiful seat in the Park, to breakfast, where he and Lady Lawson showed themselves most affable hosts. The library is described as a noble room, and the view from the windows truly magnificent.

A year later his stipend was increased to £200, and a better house obtained in a more healthy situation. Another son was born who, however, only lived a few days. In writing of this first trial, he says:

"Our little one was feeble, and we saw he could not live, but our affections clung to him and it was a sore wrench to have him go—God gave and has taken him to be nurtured in the heavenly nursery..... I am thankful to say our little John is well and bright."

Amid all these alternating lights and shades of the Edinburgh parsonage, Mr. Wilkes still planned and laboured on behalf of his much-loved Canada. He had not laboured altogether in vain. His correspondence with the Directors of the London Missionary Society, combined with the representations of Drs. Reed and Matheson, on their return from America, had led the Board to make an appropriation of £1000 for sending ministers to the Colonies. On his recommendation assistance had already been given, to the extent of £20 each, towards sending out Rev. Messrs. Murdoch, Lyall and Lillie, and they had further engaged to help Mr. Hayden to go to Cobourg. The Committee, however, to whom the expenditure of the grant

was entrusted, hampered with the feeling that the evangelization of the Colonies was not properly speaking *foreign* Missionary work, and perplexed how to act, sent for Mr. Wilkes, in April, 1835, to meet them in London. He did so, and in describing his conference with them, he says:

"I took special pains to insist upon the absolute need of some provision to aid in the support of ministers until they were established in the confidence and affections of the people, and had gathered a flock around them. I said, 'Gentlemen, you may as well throw your £1000 into the sea, so far as any permanent work in Canada is concerned, as employ it to send out men, and then leave them unaided from the date of their landing. Every man of them will be forced over the lines into the United States.'"

These words were no less true than they were brave and decided, as the subsequent history of most of those sent out at this period shows. Mr. Lyall spent some months in the neighbourhood of the Bay of Quinté, he and Mr. Murdoch having almost an itinerant ministry. But as only one could be supported, and he very inadequately, Mr. Murdoch removed—making his headquarters at Bath, with numerous stations in the rear—while Mr. Lyall went to Oakland, where, though much esteemed, he was, alas! not supported. After five months there he went to St. Thomas for six months, with the same result—promises without performance, and an empty purse. Reduced to extremities, he sold his books at half their value, and then was charged 20 per cent. commission for selling, and at length becoming discouraged, he went to the United States. Mr. Murdoch very shortly followed his example. The Rev. Mr. Smith, of Union church, Kingston, closed his labours there in 1833, and removed to Brockville, where, for a time, he supported himself by teaching, and finally crossed the lines into the United States.

It thus became evident that to send out ministers to Canada to labour among new settlers suffering poverty and hardship of every kind, without providing, at least in part, for their support for some years was, folly and even cruelty. To gather a con-

gregation out of the heterogeneous elements of our Canadian population, and weld them, and interest them in spiritual matters, sufficiently to induce them to build a church, and support a pastor, must necessarily be a difficult work, and a work of time. All this Mr. Wilkes saw and urged upon the English brethren, but found it very hard to make them see it. It is not quite certain that their successors of to-day fully understand it!

Under these circumstances, and knowing that it was extremely unlikely that any further aid would be granted by the London Missionary Society, Dr. Reed suggested to Mr. Wilkes the formation of a Colonial Missionary Society in Scotland, such a Society offering, in his judgment, the best solution of the Canadian problem. In this Dr. Matheson seems to have concurred, since we find a memorandum relating to it,—"He is beginning to see that a separate organization for the Colonies will become a necessity, if anything is to be done to purpose." This was Mr Wilkes' own view, and appears to have formed the subject of a communication from his pen, in the columns of the *Patriot* newspaper, some time during the summer of 1835. The suggestion took root. Prayer was being answered. "The time to favour our Canadian Zion was approaching," but just how the long cherished hope was to be realized did not yet appear.

Let us turn for a moment from Edinburgh to Canada. The church in Montreal, organized by Mr. Miles, July 6th, 1832, had built a house of worship in St. Maurice Street at a cost of £1,600,—opened and dedicated in February, 1835,—and was making slow but steady progress. To the fifteen members who had united in the organization, eleven had been added in 1833, and seventeen in 1834. They had established a Sunday School, which was growing in interest and in numbers, under the careful superintendence, first of Mr. Joseph Savage, and subsequently of Mr. Archibald Duff,—afterwards Rev. Arch. Duff, D.D. Mr. Miles, however, who had never regarded himself as more than a *pioneer*, wished now to retire from the

pastorate, and push the work in the Eastern Townships, on the borders of which, at Abbottsford, he had purchased a farm. On the 26th of August, therefore, he resigned his charge, and only held office until a successor could be secured. In the month of October, the church, by an unanimous vote, and with Mr. Miles' hearty concurrence, resolved to invite Mr. Wilkes to the pastorate. There were no cable messages, or even tri-weekly mails, in those days, and the call seems to have been long in reaching him, apparently not till after the New Year—for he says, curiously,—

"The earlier days of 1836 were agitated by the question of duty in this matter. On the one hand, God had very graciously smiled on my labours in Edinburgh, and had given me great favour in the eyes of all the Congregational brotherhood there, and in the whole of Scotland. Many came to me, when it was known the call was under consideration, including several ministers of other denominations, begging me to consider the success I had had as an indication that I should continue. My position was really a delightful one, I had the confidence and love of my own people, and I knew I never could have another sphere to equal it; on the other hand, there were all the considerations in favour of Canada which had pressed upon me in 1833. Still the question was, "are the British churches ready to help in the Canadian work?" for I concluded, without hesitation, that I ought not to leave Edinburgh simply for Montreal. There was no comparison between the importance in all respects of Albany Street, Edinburgh, and St. Maurice Street, Montreal. But the question would assume a very different phase if I was required as an agent of the British churches to act for them in promoting the planting of Congregational churches throughout the country. For an object like this I had exceptional advantages, being well known on both sides, and having adaptations for the Canadian work which no stranger could possibly have without the experience of several years. My anxiety to do right was great and continuous."

Early in the year, Mr. Joseph Savage, of Montreal, who had been to London on business, visited Edinburgh, and urged upon Mr. Wilkes the pressing importance of his accepting the call that had been presented. About the same time, the Rev. Dr. Tidman, Secretary of the London Missionary Society, and a member of its Colonial Committee, wrote him that the Committee having learned of the call from Montreal, and being

thoroughly convinced of the desirableness of his occupying a position so important and influential, had resolved, in the event of his accepting it, on making a grant of £60 towards the expense of his removal and that of his family, to Canada. Dr. Tidman further alluded to the need of some one in Montreal and Toronto through whom the British churches could act intelligently in supplying the spiritual wants of their neglected fellow-countrymen in Canada; but as yet, no satisfactory plan had been devised for carrying on the work, and no decision could be arrived at. Very soon after, however, the conviction became clear and decided in the minds of such men as Geo. Collison, Thomas Binney, Andrew Reed, James Matheson, Dr. Tidman and others, that the time had arrived when a Missionary Society for the Colonies must be organized, and a definite promise was given, that if he would accept the call of the church in Montreal, and act as their agent in Canada, they would at once form such a Society. Mr. Wilkes says:—

"I could no longer hesitate, and at once laid the matter before the deacons at Albany Street. They expressed great sorrow at my removal, but they could not refuse acquiescence. .... The church was immediately informed on the subject of my call to leave them. Very tender proofs of affection were given, and much deep sorrow shown; but they deemed the call to be of God, and assented to His will."

In order that the course of both pastor and people might be freed from all suspicion of there being anything selfish, underhand, or unkind in connection with this important step, a statement of the facts of the case was drawn up, and published in the *Scottish Congregational Magazine.**

Many kind letters received at this period evince the sorrow of his brethren, and of the general Christian public, at the prospect of his removal. Dr. Wardlaw writes,—"I mentioned at the meeting on Wednesday, your purpose to go to Canada. Many expressed great interest and affection for you, and we united in commending you and your future work to the great Head of the Church." The Revs. W. L. Alexander, Wm. Black,

* Vol. ii. pp. 158–160.

of Dunkeld, Wm. Innes, of Edinburgh, Mr. D. B. McKenzie, of Elie, Fife, and others, write in a similar strain. At the meeting of the Scottish Congregational Union, held just after he left Edinburgh, Mr. Alexander took occasion to refer to the loss which had been sustained by the friends of the Theological Academy and of the Union, by departure from among them of Mr. Wilkes. "In that gentleman," he said, "all pious institutions found an active and zealous friend, and especially those which were more immediately connected with that body to which he belonged. His absence would be felt as a loss not only by the church of which he had been pastor, but by his brother ministers and by the cause in general. But he had plainly acted in leaving Edinburgh in obedience to the call of duty and consequently it behoved us, while regretting his absence, to follow him with our prayers that it might please the Great Head of the Church to make him a singular blessing to that land to which he was about to return."

The termination of a pastorate so pleasant, and so successful, could not be otherwise than painful. Mr. Wilkes writes of it:—

"I cannot describe the bitterness of parting with a beloved flock, and so many loved friends. My last sermon was delivered on Sunday evening, from 2 Cor. xiii, 11,—"Finally, Brethren, farewell," etc. The chapel was packed full to the window-sills, the vestry and all the aisles. It was my first and last experience of this kind, I am thankful that there has not been required a repetition. The conceptions concerning the pastorate must be widely different from mine, on the part of many brethren who change their relation to churches every few years. Perhaps I have been exceptionally favoured in the only two churches of which I have had charge; but to be uneasy in them, and to be looking out for something better, have had no place in my mind..... Many friends took leave of us at the coach by which we were to proceed to Glasgow, thence by steamer to Liverpool and coach to Birmingham, where we spent a few days with relations ...

On my arrival in London, arrangements were completed for the organization of the proposed Colonial Mission, in connection with the annual meeting of the Congregational Union, and the Society was accordingly rmed May 13th, 1836. It was at first only a Committee of the Union,

and was called 'the Colonial Mission of the Union,' with the Rev. Algernon Wells for Secretary, and J. Remington Mills, Esq., Treasurer; but its name was subsequently changed to that which it still bears,—'The Colonial Missionary Society.'"

On the completion of the organization, Mr. Wilkes was appointed its first agent, and on the 24th May, a designation service was held in the Weigh-House Chapel, London (Mr. Binney's), where he was solemnly commended to the grace of God for the work he had undertaken. The Rev. Dr. Henderson delivered the introductory address. Mr. Wilkes explained the nature of the field and his plans of operation in connection with the Congregational Colonial Mission. Rev. Geo. Collison offered up prayer, and addressing him afterwards, said: "Brother, if we do not stand by you, hold us recreant." The Rev. Arthur Tidman, Rev. Messrs. Binney, Ainslie, and Mayne took part in the service. There being no hymns in the books then in use, bearing on the work of God in the Colonies, Rev. Josiah Conder wrote the one commencing

"Churches of Christ, by God's right hand, &c."

and it was sung on this occasion. The collection for the new mission amounted to £60.

Shortly after leaving Edinburgh, Mr. Wilkes was appointed by the Congregational Union of Scotland to represent them at the meeting of the English Union, and to lay before them for their adoption a series of resolutions drawn up by Dr. Wardlaw, on the subject of American slavery, and the sinful complicity of many of the American churches with that "sum of all villanies." This commission he faithfully fulfilled—his last official act as a member of the Scottish Congregational Union.

The necessary preparations for the voyage having been completed, Mr. Wilkes sailed from Liverpool, with his family for New York, about the end of June, and reached that place early in August. Proceeding immediately on to Montreal, they were met by a number of friends at Laprairie, who conducted them to the city, and gave them a hearty welcome. A temporary home was afforded them in the family of Mrs. Wilkes' brother, Mr. Samuel Hedge, St. Paul Street, where about a month afterwards their eldest daughter, Lucy, was

born. Only one Sabbath, August 14th, however, could be given to Montreal, at that time, Mr. Wilkes feeling under obligation to make a tour of inspection in Upper Canada, and report to the Committee in London, at the earliest possible moment. Supplies having been arranged for during the next six weeks, Mr. Wilkes visited successively Brockville, Kingston, Bath, Cobourg, Toronto, Brantford and other places, as far west as London, of which he gives a rather humorous description. A modern "boom" seems to have struck the place, and great numbers of town lots were occupied by the uncovered frames of houses, by which *possession* was secured, and then in the midst of these wooden skeletons, stood the Jail and Court House, a pretentious Elizabethan structure, intended, no doubt, as a prophecy of what the place was soon to become.

"At Toronto," he says, "I met friends and conferred with them. Mr. Merrifield (the first pastor of Zion church) had recently left, so I did not meet with him. It was agreed by us that Toronto must be occupied by a man of power, who could act as agent of the Colonial Missionary Society from Kingston westward. I paid some of the money at my disposal to Mr. Hayden and I think also to Mr. Dyer, who had come out to Hamilton, as Mr. Hayden had to Cobourg, under the auspices and at the charge of the London Missionary Society. While at Toronto, I preached in St. Andrew's church, and received permission to tell the story of the formation of a Mission, by the Congregational Union of England and Wales then representing upwards of 1600 churches, for the Colonies."

At Toronto, also, Mr. Wilkes first met with Mr., afterwards the Rev. Hiram Denny, who had been a private in the Horse Guards, in London, but had on his conversion obtained his discharge, and been employed in doing good among the boatmen on the canal. He had brought with him excellent testimonials, and on being set to work in the neighbourhood of what is now the city of Guelph, he was warmly welcomed and proved himself to be a capital pioneer missionary. The late Mr. Mickle, at whose house Mr. Wilkes stayed on visiting the neighbourhood, and preached to a congregation gathered from farm-houses around, offered Mr. Denny a home and a horse

for missionary work, and contributed with others liberally towards his support. Beginning with the organization of a church in Guelph, he gradually extended his itinerant labours to Eramosa (now Speedside) Eden Mills, and Swackhammers (now Churchill), at each of which he planted other churches. Then removing from Guelph to the last named place, he made it the centre from which to go forth into the McClellan, and McDonald settlements, now known as Alton and South Caledon, where other churches were formed. And later on, turning attention to the Township of Trafalgar, yet other churches were established at Stewarton, and Oakville, to both of which he regularly ministered in connection with Georgetown. Indeed, so wide was his field, and so numerous were his appointments that his family seldom saw him except when once in two weeks he preached at home. For over thirty years he continued thus to itinerate, until at the age of eighty-six, he entered into rest January 24th, 1879.

From Toronto, Mr. Wilkes proceeded to Brantford, where the Rev. Adam Lillie and his family were now settled, and where a handsome church had been erected and a good work was being done. Pecuniary assistance, however, was needed and was given from the unexpended balance of the grant of the London Missionary Society. Services were also held in Paris, Burford and Mount Pleasant.

London was considered an important point to occupy, and plans were laid for obtaining for it a minister from England. Correspondence was opened with the Rev. William Clarke, of Godalming, in Surrey, where he had been a much beloved and successful pastor for seven years, which led to his resigning his charge, the following spring (March, 1837), and settling in London, where shortly afterwards he organized a church that has since become one of the most flourishing in Canada. Like most of the pioneers of Congregationalism, he too extended his labours far into the regions beyond him, undertaking long journeys on horseback, and through the storms and deep snows

of winter in order that he might preach the Gospel of Christ to the destitute settlers in the back woods. Several other churches were organized as the result of these evangelistic labours, in the townships of Warwick and Plympton, and elsewhere. Subsequently he removed to Simcoe, and still later to Dresden, in each of which he spent some years preaching to almost the very last, the Gospel he loved, and in the comfort and support of which he passed peacefully away, in 1878, after forty-one years of service in the Canadian field.

Turning his face eastward again, Mr. Wilkes says:

"I obtained from my father, as a present, a very handsome colt which he had reared. As it was yet too young for me, he lent me for the ensuing year, a large grey horse, of excellent temper and spirit, but alas! spavined and very thin. I mounted him, however, and sending on my trunk to Toronto, rode off through Galt to Guelph where.....we held service in Mr. Mickle's house.....The Canada Land Company was settling this region with a rather superior class of immigrants, and it was agreed that this would be an excellent centre for the residence of a Congregational minister (Mr. Denny, as already mentioned, was shortly stationed here.).... Thence I rode to Hamilton. But oh the roads! And the mud holes!..... Some times a beautiful fat deer would cross the road, coming out of the forest on one side, and plunging into it on the other. Other and smaller animals and birds (and mosquitoes) abounded in these woods, but at length Hamilton was reached."

Halting here to confer with Mr. Dyer as to the wants and capabilities of his field, he encouraged them to hope for assistance from England, and commissioned Mr. Dyer to visit Thorold, at the mouth of the Welland Canal, and report to him of its necessities, which he did. Then hurrying forward, still on horseback, to Toronto, he had further conference with the friends there, and road on to Cobourg, 70 miles, where, he says,—

"I found the neat frame church building ready for opening, with a small dwelling for Mr. Hayden and family built on to it, for economy's sake. The dear good man was a true missionary, and while attending to Cobourg preached the Gospel all around, and at length established a church at Cold Springs, eight miles in the rear. The Field family were the sturdy upholders of Mr. Hayden, and the work at Cobourg, as they still

continue to be. The day of opening was fine, the attendance good, and the occasion altogether memorable and helpful. I do not remember," he adds, "whether we had one or two services, but I do know that the organization of the Colonial Mission was a great encouragement to these scattered sheep in the wilderness. They had been members of one of our churches in England."*

Another journey on horseback of forty miles brought him to Belleville where he took the steamer for Kingston.

"Putting up my horse, I proceeded to the house of Mr. Baker. He was an intelligent whole-souled Englishman, a lieutenant in the Royal Navy, most loyal. A good preacher but avoiding all acts such as performing the marriage ceremony, which might compromise his position as a Naval officer. Murdoch (who had come down from Bath) and he walked out with me, and on our way I called to see how my horse was doing. They accompanied me, and on seeing the gaunt beast, Mr. Baker exclaimed, amid peals of laughter, what a horse for the representative of 1,600 churches!"

No pecuniary assistance was required by the church in Kingston, Mr. Baker's half-pay allowance enabling him to live on what his people were able to contribute towards his support. His pastorate, however, was destined to be of brief duration, for, on the breaking out of the rebellion, in the latter part of the following year, his loyalty to his Queen and country, as he regarded the matter, led him to assume an attitude altogether too *militant* to suit the views of some of his people, and a rupture ensued which broke up the church, and drove him from the city. He subsequently settled in Brantford, as the successor of Mr. Lillie, on his removal, in 1839, to Dundas, to establish the Theological Academy. Thence he removed to Newmarket, his last charge, in 1850, where he continued to act as pastor till 1861. His death has only very recently occurred—March 29th, 1887—at the advanced age of 92.

The six weeks which he had proposed to occupy in his Western tour, had now nearly expired, and after a short stop at Brockville to heal, if possible, a breach that had occurred

* A very interesting sketch of the life and labours of this excellent man will be found in the *Canadian Independent* for October, 1865.

between the pastor and some of his flock,—unfortunately without success,—Mr. Wilkes says,—

"I reached Montreal at the very end of September, and embraced, for the first time my daughter, who was then a month old..... A very full description of my six weeks' journeyings and exploration was sent to the Colonial Mission, and my recommendations as to action thereupon." Referring to Toronto, he says, "I insisted on the importance of sending out a really able minister, who should be a gentleman in his bearing, affable, not haughty, and that he must have £200 a year, of which the church can now raise £95, while others will bring the amount up to £150. There must be a place of worship erected, and the minister should act as the Society's agent from Kingston to the Western extremity of the Province."

CHAPTER VII.

1836–38.

On the first Lord's day in October,—Oct. 2nd, 1836,—Mr. Wilkes began his ministry in St. Maurice Street church, Montreal, where, for over half a century, he was to continue his faithful service, in various forms, until finally laid to rest in its beautiful Mount Royal Cemetery. The contrast between his Edinburgh charge, as he left it, and his Montreal charge, as he found it, must have been very great, and even painful to him. The membership was less than fifty—about one-fifth of that he had left—and the congregation about one hundred. The debt on the building was £1,100, to meet the interest on which a portion of the basement was rented for storage. There was neither gallery, nor organ, nor vestry; and even a year later, when the financial outlook must have very much improved, the income from pew rents, subscriptions, and collections did not meet the expenditure by about £30.

No arrangements appear to have been made about the amount of salary to be paid the pastor,—a rather dangerous method of procedure, as it seems to us, and one not to be followed, unless in exceptional cases. Of course, there are good people who think that a minister of the Gospel should "trust in the Lord," and never seek to know what his income is to be beforehand, lest that should tempt him to put confidence in man instead. To us, however, it seems clear that if a fixed salary prevents a clergyman from exercising faith in the Providence of God, it must be even a greater danger and wrong to fix the salary of a clerk, or the rental to be paid to a landlord, who is perhaps less able to resist the temptation. Why, in fact, should any body be allowed to put a stumbling-block in his brother's

way by pecuniary promises of any kind? Why not let the baker and the tailor "trust" a little too?

Mr. Wilkes appears to have had some misgiving as to the wisdom of his course in this regard, for he says,—

"Whether right or wrong, my habit has been to leave the matter of my stipend in the hands of the people. I have never made a bargain with either them, or any Society in relation to pecuniary matters; only they have understood that as a business man, I expected payment with regularity and promptitude. If asked my reason for adopting a course in relation to the pastoral office which I should not pursue in ordinary secular affairs, the reply is, that in the former case you work for Christ and his people directly, and according to the New Testament, you are simply to be kept without carefulness, in the matter of your support. Their offerings are free-will offerings; you have a claim to 'live of the Gospel,' and I have found that my people have, for the most part, done what they could in this regard."

The wrong which he wished to avoid was manifestly not the fixing of the sum to be paid to him, but the worldly, avaricious spirit, which exacts the highest amount the people are willing or able to offer. In this respect he showed an excellent example. The deacons called on him to have an understanding on the subject, and finding that he had been receiving £200 stg. in Edinburgh, they proposed £200 currency, which was at once accepted. This, with the *honorarium* of £50 paid him by the Colonial Society, as its agent, made his income the same as it had been before, with the exception that in Scotland it had been paid quarterly *in advance*, which is not a Canadian habit!

No formal installation of the new pastor took place, for Congregational ministers in Canada, in those days, were few, and far between, and there were no churches within reach to constitute a council, or to assist in a recognition service. Nor was it necessary, the people being of one mind, and the pastor-elect above reproach.

Mr. Wilkes' settlement gave an impetus to the little church which was immediately felt in all departments of its work. The

attendance steadily increased, that at the evening service very soon filling the building. A course of Sabbath evening lectures on the lives of Jacob and Joseph, drew large numbers of young people, as well as many persons belonging to other congregations, to hear. In the course of two years from the date of his settlement, the membership had doubled, more than one half of the additions having been made upon profession of faith. The Sunday School and week-night attendance grew to dimensions that required the occupancy of the entire basement, while two Mission Schools, one at Côte des Neiges, and the other at Petite Côte, were established, in connection with each of which Mr. Wilkes held a regular or occasional preaching service. Next, a vestry was built for the use of the pastor, and for the accommodation of the Bible-class; and in 1839, galleries were erected at a cost of £250, the congregation meanwhile worshipping with the American church in the morning, and having the use of their edifice for the evening service. Refer ring to this brotherly act, Mr. Wilkes remarks:

"With that church we have always had the most friendly relations, as also with that so long under the care of the late Rev. Dr. Taylor.* Indeed we have had much kindly, fraternal intercourse with most of the Protestant churches whose arrangements permitted such fellowship. We have ever loved and desired to promote a true Christian catholicity."

Hardly had he settled down to work in his new charge, when a sore affliction fell upon him in the death of a much loved brother, to which he refers in a letter dated 28th October:

"My parents are paying us a visit. They are in deep grief. My brother John is gone. Very lovely was he in his life. A warm friend of the Indians, who dwell near Brantford in considerable numbers. He could read and speak their language with fluency, and they had become so attached to him, and so implicitely confided in his integrity and justice, that they were wont to refer their disputes to him, and to abide by his decision. He was an active member of the church, and in all respects a useful member of society. The Indian chiefs were desirous of burying his remains with certain ceremonies of their own, and although this was not allowed, they did attend his funeral and manifested the utmost respect and affection."

* Now known as "Erskine Church."

In November, just a month after the commencement of his pastorate, Mr. Wilkes was appointed Corresponding Secretary of the Auxiliary Bible Society. The report for 1836 was written by him, and occasioned some little discussion. The Society had employed a colporteur in the city and neighbourhood, who sold the Scriptures, and, where he had the opportunity, read portions to the families visited. The Committee had learned that in some instances, the priests, finding the Bibles in the houses, had burned them. In the Report, this act was denounced "as a violation of Christian courtesy, and unpatriotic, as that which would mark a man as an enemy of his country and its people." When the Report was submitted to the Committee, the President, the Hon. Peter McGill, suggested a modification of the language. They had been unused "to speak out," he said, where the Romish Clergy were concerned. The Rev. G. W. Perkins advocated the retention of the clause and Mr. McGill not pressing his objection, the Report was read, as originally drafted, in the Methodist Church, St. James Street, at the annual meeting. From that time, it is said, there has been no lack of courtesy on the part of the Clergy of the Roman Catholic Church.

When Mr. Wilkes accepted the call of the church in Montreal, it was distinctly understood, that, as the agent of the Colonial Missionary Society, he would require to be absent from home a good deal, on missionary and exploring tours, especially during the earlier years of his residence in the country. These journeys, which often occupied him for several weeks together, involved an immense amount of fatigue and exposure; but being young and vigorous, and intent on accomplishing for the Society, and for the cause of Christ, all that human effort could achieve, he never spared himself. And although his people sometimes fretted a little at his absence, they were abundantly repaid in the end, by the interesting accounts he gave them of the work being done, and by the quickening of their own missionary zeal through the information

imparted. His first winter's tour is thus described by himself: After referring to some preaching visits paid to New Glasgow and Lachine, resulting subsequently in the organizing of a Presbyterian church in that neighbourhood, he says,—

"About the middle of January, I drove out to Mr. Miles', at Abbotsford, and we set out together visiting and preaching at Melbourne, Durham, Granby, Waterloo, Sherbrooke, Eaton, etc., passing through Ely on our way out, and through the long woods from Sherbrooke on our way back. We also visited Bury, just then being settled by English people imported by the British American Land Company. We visited Waterloo and Compton also. We found the Rev. James Robertson at Sherbrooke just commencing his ministry there. We marked Durham and Melbourne as important stations to occupy; also Eaton Corner. When driving down to the Corner, on a very stormy afternoon, with snow falling heavily, and the road marks obliterated, we got off the path to one side and upset, and the horse and ourselves were suddenly found rolling in the deep snow. The situation was ludicrous, and we could hardly struggle to our feet for laughing. However, getting the horse up, and re-arranging the harness and sleigh, which caused some detention, we finally reached our destination, and were thankful to find ourselves safely housed in the home of Mr. Foss, the Postmaster. A service was held, and the next day we proceeded to Bury. The snow was very deep and we had great difficulty in getting through. We were greatly interested in these simple-minded people. We talked with them, and held service wherever they could be gathered, with singing, prayer, and the reading of the Scriptures, followed by simple Gospel statements. We agreed to find if possible an intelligent catechist to work among them, and shortly afterwards one was sent to labour in Bury. The following spring the Rev. E. J. Sherrill came to Eaton, where he laboured successfully for nearly 40 years.

An appointment had been left on our way out for a preaching service in the school house at Granby, on my return homeward. I found on arrival that Bishop Mountain, of Quebec, had more recently sent an appointment for the same afternoon. He courteously sent a messenger to inquire at what time my service would close, and to ask that I would announce his service to commence at the close of mine. The schoolhouse was crowded; I conducted the singing joined by the people, and after preaching, concluded the service as the Bishop and his attendant entered. Many remained, and I took my seat among the congregation.

The Bishop enquired of me, if we had used a hymn, and who had led the singing, on replying that I had myself done so, nothing more was said. He had no singing, but evening prayer and an earnest Gospel discourse. My friend Miles, who left me at Granby to go to his home in Abbottsford, meeting certain parties on the way told them that two bishops of Montreal were to preach in Granby that afternoon. Of course these journeys, with descriptions, suggesting plans, were all duly reported to the Colonial Mission in London, my letters to which would fill many octavo volumes.

Early in May, 1837, there arrived the first consignment of ministers from England, Rev. Messrs. Nall, Clarke, and Dunkerley. The first named had laboured in Russeltown, and had gone to his native land on a visit. I immediately availed myself of their presence, by having my pulpit supplied for a Sabbath that I might visit Quebec and preach there, whence Mr. Alfred Smithers,* of the Bank of British North America, had written to me that he and Messrs. J. Mussen, Alfred Savage, and others, were desirous of the establishment of a church in that city. Mr. Dunkerley visited Melbourne and Durham, and shortly settled in the latter place. Mr. Nall went Westward, and settled at Burford, nine miles from Brantford. After writing to London about Quebec, and arranging with Mr. Dunkerley to supply my pulpit while I was absent, I set out on another journey Westward, on horseback, about the middle of June. I preached at Indian Lands, at Cobourg twice, at Cold Springs, Toronto, Brantford, Burford, and at Long Sault. Mr. Clarke, meanwhile proceeded on to London, where a schoolroom was obtained in which he commenced his labours there..... I found Murdoch, on my way up, dissatisfied with his field, and with what he thought the neglect of the British friends. [Oh the time it took to get replies from England to our communications !] He had been prospecting in the United States and was half inclined to go over there. My visit checked that course.

A letter from Rev. Arthur Tidman, London, dated August, 1837, expressed his own regret, and that of his brethren in the work of the Colonial Mission, that they had been so dilatory in correspondence, and begging me not to be discouraged, as it arose not from want of interest in the work, nor from want of impression of the great importance of our Colonial Mission, but from their absorption in home matters. He urged me to make large demands, to importune them for men and money, and to keep them well informed of the wants of specific places, with full description of them, and of the wants and experiences of the men already in the field..... He announced the appointment of the Rev. Algernon Wells, of Coggleshall

* Father of the late C. F. Smithers, of the Bank of Montreal.

to the office of Secretary of the Mission, and expressed the belief that we should find him to be a very efficient officer."

More than a year had elapsed since Mr. Wilkes had entered upon his Canadian work, and as yet no one had been found for Toronto, and the oversight of the Western part of the field. The Rev. Dr. Reed had been asked to take charge of it for a year, and had expressed his willingness to do so, but his church would not consent to his going. At length, however, the Committee in London secured the services of the Rev. John Roaf, of Wolverhampton, and sent him out, to do for Toronto and the West, what Mr. Wilkes was already doing for Montreal and the East. On his arrival in New York, in October, Mr. Wilkes went, at the request of the Committee, to meet him, but found when he reached Albany that he had already gone forward to Toronto, where, the following week, he joined him, spending several days with him in conference in regard to his future work. It was agreed that Kingston should be the dividing line, and that all West of that point should be under Mr. Roaf's supervision, while all East of it should fall under Mr. Wilkes' care, the latter to draw all the Bills of Exchange, as required for the work.

Unhappily the plan did not work as smoothly, from some cause, in the West as in the East, and in 1851 Mr. Roaf resigned his agency, and a committee was appointed to act in his stead. He continued his pastoral oversight of the church, however, until 1855, when declining health compelled him to relinquish it into other hands. He died, full of years and honors, September 2nd, 1862.

The appointment and settlement of Mr. Roaf in Toronto, afforded a large measure of relief to the ever-willing but overtaxed pastor of St. Maurice Street, but he groans inwardly at the manner in which all this journeying, and anxiety, and correspondence, breaks in upon his previous habits of study.

"I must say that my personal loss was very great. With such multifarious matters in my hands, it was literally impossible to keep up systema-

tic study. Fond of reading and investigation, my days and evenings were crowded with work, so that instead of continuing the various branches of my college course, as I had to some extent done in Edinburgh, I had to confine myself to what may be called a hand to mouth study. My stock of sermons were not altogether suitable for my Montreal congregation, so that I had to prepare new ones, or so modify the old ones that it required an equal amount of care and time in preparation. My habit of taking care of the minutes was thus intensified. I had excellent health and could do with six hours' sleep. I am thankful to say that my little congregation increased, and much interest was evinced in the advancement of the cause of Christ. The Sabbath services were held morning and evening, and as the other churches held their second service in the afternoon, many came to listen in the evening, without interfering with their attendance at their own places of worship."

This itinerant ministry, however, was not without its compensations. Numbers of cases are referred to in his memoranda, of persons brought under the power of the truth by his preaching, particulars of which cannot be given here, while there were, doubtless, many others which never came to his knowledge. They are reserved for heavenly surprises. Other instances are named in connection with his occasional ministry at Lachine, to which he had been invited to go by the late venerable Lieutenant-Colonel Wilgress, R.A., and at Petite Côte, and Côte des Neiges, in which individuals and families were brought into the church, and became most valuable and generous helpers in all our denominational movements. "One does not know (he says) what important, and far-reaching results may flow from evangelistic efforts, put forth without any eye to reward, other than the approbation of the Master, and the consciousness of working faithfully for Him."

Shortly after his return from Toronto, Mr. Wilkes had the pleasure of welcoming the Rev. Timothy Atkinson and family, who had come out to take charge of the infant mission at Quebec. A Congregational church had been organized in that ancient capital many years before, as mentioned in a previous chapter, but had died for want of fostering care, and

help, and now the time had come for a new effort to establish one. On Mr. Atkinson's arrival there, a large room, over Cole's auction rooms, had been secured in which to meet for worship, and Mr. Wilkes was asked to preach at the opening of it, on the last Sabbath in November, which he agreed to do. On taking his passage on the steamer to fulfil this appointment, he learned that the political troubles of the Province, which for some time previous had assumed a very threatening aspect, had suddenly culminated in open rebellion, the disaffected French Canadians along the Richelieu River having concentrated their forces at St. Denis. We give the story of this trip as he tells it.

"After we left the wharf, another steamer with troops and ammunition did the same for Sorel. It was allowed to go considerably ahead of us, though our boat could easily have kept the lead. On enquiry, I learned that this was done by instructions from the military authorities, so that the troops were on shore, and in barracks ere we arrived at Sorel. Detained an hour or so there, I saw them march out that same night—as I thought, very ill-equipped for such weather and roads—about midnight, under arms, and with one or two field pieces, for St. Denis. We left after this, and reached Quebec in due time next day. The news which reached us two or three days afterwards at Quebec was, that the troops had been beaten off; that the rebel army was strengthened, and that St. Charles was in their hands; that General T. S. Brown, Dr. Wolfred Nelson, Mr. Papineau, and a number of leading men were among them, and that they were in high spirits..... During my short stay in Quebec, I was the guest of Mr. Mussen. The little congregation was steadily increasing, and were already looking for a site on which to erect a church-building. The people were earnest and hopeful.

How to get home was the next point; the cold had become suddenly severe, and the regular steamers had laid up for the winter. The *John Bull* lay at the wharf laden with arms and ammunition for Montreal, under a guard of soldiers, but she was prohibited from taking a single passenger. However, my peaceful character was represented to the authorities, and they gave me a pass to go on board her as a passenger. We left the wharf and proceeded about thirty miles up the river, but the cold became so intense that the sheathing and planks of the steamer were being cut with the ice, and we had to turn round and retrace our course to Quebec. The land

journey was now the only alternative. We started in a sleigh with the mail. The political excitement and animosity were so great that I deemed it well, as the only English-speaking passenger, to keep silence, as the others discoursed in French of the war. We received intelligence on our way up that the troops had conquered at St. Charles; that the rebels were scattered, and their leaders had fled. Below Three Rivers the snow failed, and we had to proceed in a common Canadian cart, with horses *tandem*. I got home, shaken and racked by the motion of the cart on the rough frozen roads, but presided the same evening at the prayer meeting."

In the month of February, 1838, Mr. Wilkes started out on another evangelistic and exploring tour, in the Eastern portion of Upper Canada, arrangements for which had been made, in part, by the Rev. William McKillican, then residing near Vankleek Hill, but whose parish knew no limits but those which human power and endurance put to it. Mr. McKillican had formed one of the class trained in Scotland, for missionary service, by the Haldanes, whose names are so familiar in connection with the rise of Independency in that land, and deeply had he drunk into the spirit of those noble men. Coming out to this country in the year 1816, he had been offered ordination and *status* in the Episcopal church by Bishop Stewart, but preferred to retain his Independency and independence, and purchased the farm on which he was still living and supporting himself, with the help of his family, while he preached the Gospel in the regions around. Although not an eloquent man, as the phrase is generally understood, he was a remarkably intelligent man and mighty in the Scriptures, and his memory is still fragrant in all that district of country among the older portion of the population.

"There were few," says Mr. Wilkes of him, "who in conversation, or in preaching, could be equally interesting and instructive." Of his widow, who survived him a number of years, he says, "she was famous throughout the surrounding country for her shrewd good sense. and for her eminent and enlightened piety. When drawing near her end, the Christian people, far and near, gathered to hear her dying testimony, and were greatly puzzled at her quiet calm manner and utterance. They expected raptures.

Having conferred on the subject, it was agreed that one should ask her why this was so. Her simple and beautiful reply in her native Gaelic was 'If I feel my feet secure upon the Rock, is it needful that I should dance there?'"

Earnestly urged by these excellent people to "come over and help them," Mr. Wilkes devoted three weeks of this busy winter to evangelistic service in this wide and comparatively uncultivated field, Mr. McKillican accompanying him in his journey. The following extracts are taken from his memoranda respecting it.

Wednesday, Feb. 21.—Martintown, Indian Lands, Thursday forenoon, addressed upwards of fifty people, from Luke ii., 10, 11: in the evening about the same number, taking for my subject, 2 Cor., v 17. On Friday morning upwards of one hundred and twenty gathered into the house, coming from seven to ten miles to hear the Word of life: a solemn season. Preached from Isaiah lv., 12, 13. Returned to Martintown the same evening, and held a meeting in the school-room, which was crowded. Subject, the parable of the rich fool. This place is very destitute of religious instruction; drunkenness abounds. There are four taverns. On Saturday forenoon returned to Indian Lands. The house was excessively crowded, fully 150 present; much solemnity and apparently deep impression. Text 2 Cor., v. 10. A prayer meeting, followed by an opportunity for conversation, was held each day. Mr. McKillican preached to the Gaelic population. In the evening went to Roxburgh, seven miles off, and again preached to a crowded house from Isaiah liii., 1. Sabbath 25th. Held service in an unoccupied church in Indian Lands. Nearly 400 people were present. There were not more than three houses in sight, but the church was surrounded by an immense number of sleighs. Many came from great distances. I preached from Ezek. xviii., 31, "Why will ye die? A number seemed deeply affected, and sought conversation with me on the great question of the soul's salvation. Mr. McKillican gave the substance of my discourse in Gaelic.

In the afternoon I preached to the young, from Rev. ii., 10. The Lord's Supper was observed at the close of the service. On Monday drove to Osgoode, distributing tracts, both English and Gaelic, by the way. I preached at McNab's at mid-day: with a very short notice, there were upwards of fifty persons present, Heb. iii, 7, 8. At night, five miles further on, had another meeting, and slept in Mr. Campbell's shanty. The road from Indian Lands to Osgoode was impassable in summer. There were

spaces of ten miles without a house. On Wednesday, 28th, was at Birkwell's Settlement, a large one, chiefly of Irish Catholics. The village of Kemptville and Merrickville were visited, tracts given, meetings and conversation held. At Carleton Place I was the guest of Mr. Daniel Cram, three miles from the village. Preached at his house in the evening* and the next morning in the Methodist church, to over a hundred people. Going on four miles preached at Toshack's at night. Saturday, 3rd March, passed through Packenham to Fitzroy having interesting meetings. On Sabbath forenoon I found a respectable and numerous congregation in the school-house, text Deut. xxix., 29. In the afternoon it was still larger. Mr. Sherriff, sen., whose guest I was, expressed anxiety to have an earnest evangelical minister. The first who came would be welcomed, whether Presbyterian or Congregationalist. Bristol contains over 120 families: is about nine miles from Fitzroy. Left for Bytown on Monday morning. A heavy snow storm made the drive tedious, so that it was eleven o'clock at night before I reached my destination. Left on Tuesday, and on Wednesday called upon Mr. Edwards, sen., a Baptist brother. At L'Original, got information regarding Hawkesbury and Caledonia. Crossed over to Grenville and St. Andrews on Thursday. Had a conversation with Mr. Guy Richards, who was very anxious to have something done for the education of the Roman Catholics. I reached home on Saturday, having to fill my own pulpit on Sabbath. Sixteen years afterwards Rev. John McKillican told me of an interesting result of the sermon at Fitzroy Harbour. The notice being very short, it only reached a brother and sister, who lived five miles distant, in time to permit of them hearing the latter part of the sermon, though they had driven as fast as they could to be in time. The portion they heard was an appeal to those who were abusing the doctrine of the Divine sovereignty, of which the discourse was a vindication.

The brother was in poor health, and was abusing the mercy of God to his own undoing, arguing—'If I am to be saved, I shall be, do, or not do what I may: and if not, all my doing will be in vain.' The madness and sinfulness of this course, and its inconsistency with every other view we take in life, were pointed out. He saw the sin and folly of it—discovered the fulness and sufficiency of the Gospel of Christ, and embraced it, and some months afterwards died peacefully, trusting in the Saviour."

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* Mr. Cram, who is still living, says in a letter to Mrs. Wilkes, "I am glad to know that a memoir is being prepared. Assuredly he was more like the Archbishop of Canadian Christendom, save only in pretence,—for Dr. Wilkes hated shams! Indeed he was a kind host, and a most welcome visitor everywhere..... The gracious Head of his One Church, who raised him up, and so fitted him for the varied offices which he so remarkably and so long filled, direct you and yours in all things to his glory."

A letter written during this missionary tour says :—

"You would be surprised at the kind of accommodation, which, in some instances we have had to be content with. I wish you could have seen the arrangements necessary in some of the shanties. There is only one room in which to eat and sleep, and quite a family to house. Very primitive screens and curtains isolate each bed, that decency may be preserved. A great roaring fire on the hearth is kept up all night, so that we did not feel the cold, although it must have been many degrees below zero..... On Satuaday we were entertained not in a shanty, but in a log house, and I had a bed closet all to myself. Mr. McKillican gave me the hint to shave before retiring, as the good people, if they found me shaving on a Sabbath morning would be seriously offended,—a minister breaking the Sabbath! As in duty bound the hint was taken, and my good friends were not scandalized by my city habit.... The kindness of these primitive people is very great, and their gratitude equally so."

A number of other places seem to have been visited a little later on, and in the early part of the summer, among them Huntingdon, St. Eustache, and Georgeville, on Lake Memphramagog, in all of which he preached. Full reports of these journeys were sent to the Society in England, and an earnest appeal was made to the Committee to supply, if possible, the needs of Fitzroy Harbour and of Georgeville, but nothing appears to have been done in response to it.

These Missionary tours were regularly undertaken every winter, for a great number of years, and only when there came to be less necessity for them, or other hands were ready to take up the work, were they altogether abandoned.

CHAPTER VIII.

1838–1846.

EARLY in September, the home was first brightened by the advent of a little infant stranger, and then, fifteen days later, as suddenly overshadowed with gloom by her removal; while a still darker and heavier cloud fell upon it in less than thirty-six hours after the funeral of the child, in the death of the mother, who, with very little pre-indication of such a result, calmly and peacefully passed away to the home above. Mother and child were together laid to rest in the old Dorchester Street Burial Ground, whence their remains were afterwards removed to the new Mount Royal Cemetery. Mrs. Wilkes is described, by one who knew her well, as having been "very lovely in her disposition and temper, very shrewd, truly devout, and zealous in the Lord's work." Dr. Beilby, of Edinburgh, in a letter to Mr. Wilkes, dated 30th October, 1838, writes:

"I heard with deep grief of the very heavy loss you have sustained. Those who have had access to observe intimately the character of your excellent wife, could alone know the extent of your affliction. The frequent opportunities I enjoyed of seeing her, both as a friend and medical adviser, enabled me to appreciate her excellence, and to estimate the loss your dear children, and especially the eldest, has sustained, as well as yourself."

This event led to the breaking up of the house. The children were sent to Brantford to be cared for by their grandmother, and Mr. Wilkes became the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Henry Vennor, then residing in St. Joseph Street. In writing to his mother, Mr. Wilkes says,—

"The kindness of the dear friends who have made me one of their family in my loneliness, I can never forget. They will not accept anything for my board, so that I have no expense, but the keep of my horse. ..... In a few weeks I will (D.V.) visit Brantford, not merely that I may see my dear children and friends, but to have conference with Mr. Lillie and

Mr. Roaf. ..... I am thankful for the interest I have in my work. Every moment is occupied, and that helps me to bear the trial that I know is sent by my Father." .....

The journey referred to was taken, and when in Toronto, returning homeward, rumours of another rebellion reached him. In the "jottings" he writes:

"An attack of Hunter's Lodges, in league with rebellious spirits in Canada, was expected from the United States. There was to be an attempt to overthrow the Government, and then to annex to the United States. I proceeded homeward, and reaching Brockville, found that the boats were so delayed, that if I went on, I should have to drive into Montreal by the stage, after mid-day on Sunday. This I resolved not to do, and therefore remained over at Brockville, where I preached twice. On Monday I proceeded downward, but arriving at Coteau du Lac, I found all the country up in arms, the roads stopped, the military and volunteers in motion. I slept that night on the floor of the Inn at Coteau, in the midst of troops, and next morning turned my face westward again in the steamboat. Colonel Philpots was on board, commanding some troops who were to look by the way for certain reported Hunter's lodgemen, who were to attack the boat. Landing at Prescott, I got across to Ogdensburgh, where I preached in the Presbyterian church.* Before leaving next day, a scene was enacted before that town, which I witnessed. A large party of armed men had seized the steamboat which ran up the Lake, compelled the engineer and steersman to remain at their posts, and having all embarked, crossed the river, and landing, took possession of a windmill a short distance East of Prescott, on the river side, and then sent the steamer back. Another body of men had seized a schooner, and embarking, endeavoured also to cross the river; but, fortunately for them, they ran on to a shoal, less than half way over, and, therefore, in U. S. Territory, where they lay helpless. Meanwhile, the little British armed steamer *Experiment* had come upon the seene, and was determined either to capture or destroy the American steamer. It so occurs, that in order to get into the harbour at Ogdensburgh with a steamer of her size, she requires to go into British waters; hence, she was watched by the *Experiment* and every time she crossed the line, shots were fired at her. She would then run back into the neutral waters. Meanwhile, we could see the men in and about the windmill, watching the attack, and the several retreats. At length she made a desperate effort to get into

* The date mentioned for Ogdensburgh, is November 10, 1838.

port, and succeeded, but with the loss of her pilot; for as he was veering her in through the British half of the river, a shot from the *Experiment* struck the wheelhouse, and killed him instantly. ..... Proceeding by stage, I reached Plattsburgh, took the steamer to St. Johns; found the rebellion had been crushed in that region, and learned, on my arrival at home, of the decisive battle at St. Eustache. ..... My decision not to travel on Sunday saved me from a week's imprisonment. The boat on which I had come down the river, and which I left at Brockville, had been seized at Beauharnois, and her passengers made prisoners of war, and were confined there, until released from imprisonment by the collapse of the insurrection."

The 7th of December was proclaimed by the Government to be observed as a day of fasting and prayer, on account of the state of the country. The proclamation was made in the old form of command and threatening,—"as ye fear the wrath of God and the Queen's displeasure, ye shall all assemble in your respective places of worship," etc. Objecting strongly to the form of the proclamation, Mr. Wilkes called the church together, asked it to concur in the observance, and respectfully to protest against any interference of the Civil power in such matters, beyond naming the day, and exhorting Her Majesty's faithful subjects to observe it in the manner proposed. The church acted on this recommendation, and a document was drawn up and published by the pastor, in its name, protesting against all assumption of authority in the matter by the State, but at the same time thanking the Government for naming and setting apart the day. Many similar days have been appointed since that period, but the objectionable form of proclamation has never been repeated.

"Canadian political affairs at this period, were in a transition state. Lord Durham's special mission, on which he had been sent by the Imperial Government, immediately after the Rebellion, had accomplished a large amount of good in revealing the causes of discontent and rebellion, and the means of their removal. His Report is an important historical document. ..... Shortly after his return to England, Mr. Poulette Thompson, afterwards Lord Sydenham, was appointed Governor-General, and under the new regime then inaugurated, Lower Canada was thenceforth

governed with the assistance of a Special Council, which did very excellent service in many ways, particularly in the enfranchisement of the Island of Montreal, compelling the Seminary of St. Sulpice to commute all its claims on the Real Estate, on fixed terms. The Seminary, on the other hand, had a doubtful title established—a questionable advantage to the country—and has had enormous wealth poured into its coffers; but by the settlement thus effected, owners of property in Montreal, can now improve or sell without the onerous claim of *Lods et Ventes*. The progress of the city has been marvellous since that date. It should be noted that by the terms of this settlement, the expenditure of the Seminary was limited to three things,—Education—the cure of souls in the Island of Montreal—and the maintenance of the poor. The Seminary is bound, whenever called upon by the Government to do so, to render a full, true, and particular account of its expenditure, but through the pusillanimity of the Government, it has never been called upon for it. One would like to see such an account."

Memoranda relating to this period refer to the settlement of the Rev. James T. Byrne, at L'Orignal, with which Hawkesbury, near by, was associated. Mr. Byrne, desirous of engaging in Missionary work, had resigned his charge in Gorleston, in Norfolk, England, and had arrived in Canada during the autumn of 1838, when, on recommendation of Mr. Wilkes, he went up the Ottawa River, as far as Fitzroy, in search of a field of labour, finally selecting the sphere above-named. There he remained for some years, when, after supplying Bytown and Brockville for a few months, he settled in Whitby, in October, 1851. This was his last pastoral charge, for on resigning it in June, 1863, he became the Agent of the French Canadian Missionary Society, on behalf of which he toiled most assiduously, until stricken down, while prosecuting his labours, in the streets of Albany, N.Y., Nov. 21, 1874.

About a fortnight was again spent in mid-winter in Missionary work, during which Mr. Wilkes visited Durham, Melbourne, Sherbrooke, Eaton, Bury and some other places in the Eastern Townships, preaching or holding other services in each place.

"In Bury and adjacent villages, Mr. Cameron, the Evangelist, who had been sent out by the church in Montreal, was doing good work. He had furnished the people with hymn books, and fostered a love of singing. I walked with him to the service, three or four miles through the snow, and was surprised to find so large a gathering of people. Of twenty-four families in the place, there were only two without evidence of serious impressions. The people, in conversation, adverted to their carelessness in regard to the religious privileges they had enjoyed in England, but now the Word of the Lord was precious..... On my return, I visited Compton, Hatley, Stukely, Shefford, Waterloo, Granby, and Abbotsford. Mr. Miles, at the last mentioned place, was enthusiastic and eager to put forth effort in every feasible direction. Sometimes I drove out to his house, and spent a day in earnest conference, and arrangement of plans. Some fifteen years my senior, with large experience in Africa and in England, and withal a man of single purpose, and undeviating rectitude, he was a most valuable counsellor and co-adjutor, full of wise suggestions."

The winter of 1838–39 was notable for the holding of a series of earnest conferences of leading ministers and laymen, at breakfast, in the house of Mr. Joseph Wenham, of the Bank of Upper Canada, in regard to the condition of the French Roman Catholics. The Rebellion had for a time shaken the hold of the priests upon the people, and it was considered to be an appropriate juncture in which to inaugurate a comprehensive effort for their evangelization. There was already a Mission among them at La Grande Ligne, but it was not upon the catholic basis that is felt to be so desirable in all foreign Missionary work, as this practically is.

The result of these conferences was the formation of the French Canadian Missionary Society, with Lieut-Colonel Wilgress, R.A., President; Mr. James Court, Treasurer; Messrs. Wenham, Dougall, Lunn, Ferrier, and others, Vice-Presidents; and Rev. W. Taylor and Mr. Wilkes, Secretaries. The first act of the new Society was to ask Mr. Taylor and Mr. Court to go to Britain for funds, and to France and Switzerland for missionaries. The history of that Society, and the noble and most successful work it did in the forty years during which it continued to be carried on upon a non-denominational basis,

cannot be written here. There are many, indeed, who deeply regret that we cannot exhibit a more practical unity of all the Protestant churches in the presence of our Roman Catholic neighbours; but if that may not be yet, as we believe it will be in the near future, it is at least pleasant for the Congregational churches of Canada to reflect, that it was through no fault of their's that the basis of the Society was changed. Mr. Wilkes, who continued to take a deep interest in French Evangelization till the last, and was for some years President of this Society, always regretted the change of its constitution.

Mr. Wilkes also took an active part in the formation of a Ministerial Association, consisting, at first, of only the Rev. G. W. Perkins, of the American church; Rev. W. Taylor, of the U. Presb. church; Rev. N. Bosworth, pastor of the Baptist church; the Rev. Mr. Curry, Agent of the American Home Missionary Society, and himself, but embracing afterwards nearly all the non-Anglican evangelical clergymen of the city. This Association, which still exists, was organized largely with a view to keeping an eye on all public movements affecting the moral and spiritual welfare of the city, and has done a most useful work. In its earlier history, it took an active part, by platform meetings and otherwise, in urging the undenominationalizing of McGill College. Its charter thus far had been worked solely in the interests of the Episcopal Church, and by Episcopalians. It had, however, done little or nothing as an institution for instruction. A medical school, which was then, and has ever since been of a high class, used its charter for conferring degrees in Medicine, and that school had no special denominational character. Success attended the movement, and an amended charter was obtained. "The Royal Institution for the Advancement of Learning" was henceforth composed of distinguished members of all the different churches, and the Governors of the University represented all Protestant denominations. Under this charter, the Faculty of Arts was organized, under Principal (now Sir J.W.)

Dawson; then followed that of Law, and more recently that of Applied Science. It has, for many years, been an Institution of great usefulness in the Province.

The Congregational churches in Canada were as yet but few and feeble, and an effort was now felt to be necessary to draw them more closely together, with a view both to mutual helpfulness and encouragement, and their greater influence in the community. This desire led to the formation, in the summer of 1838, of the Congregational Union of Lower Canada, a similar organization having been effected a year or two earlier in the Upper Province. Each of these Unions very clearly defined, and as carefully guarded, the independency of the churches, incorporating in its constitution the fundamental principle of their English namesake, that it "recognizes the right of every individual church to administer its affairs, and shall not, in any case, assume legislative authority, or become a Court of appeal." Of this Lower Canada Union, the Rev. R. Miles was the first Secretary, and, as we have seen, a most energetic and faithful man. Under his management, and with Mr. Wilkes' earnest co-operation, it rendered invaluable service to the churches of the Province, and so continued to do until its amalgamation with its sister Union of the Upper Province, in October, 1853, under the title of "The Congregational Union of Canada."

"The year 1839," says Mr. Wilkes, "was marked, especially in Upper Canada, by the commencement of the controversy concerning the Clergy Reserves, which ended some years later in their secularization. It was a hard fight, first between the Church of England and the Church of Scotland, the latter claiming an equal right to them with the Church of England, as one of the Established Churches; the other insisting that before the Law, the State knew no other "Protestant Clergy" than those of the Episcopal Church. In 1840, some settlement was arrived at, by which the claim of the Church of Scotland was recognized. Ultimately, the remaining Reserves were sold and secularized; a certain sum was paid to each of the above-named churches, another sum to the Wesleyans for their missions, and a further and residuary portion was left open to meet

any applications for a share by other religious bodies. The temptation was thus held out to the Baptists and Congregationalists, but they turned a deaf ear to the charmer, and I suppose that portion of the property is now a part of the Consolidated Fund. An Act was passed later on, the preamble of which declared the expediency of 'doing away with all semblance of connection between the Church and the State.' The two churches that obtained the lion's share when the final settlement was made, obtained from those clergymen having vested interests, a relinquishment of their claims, on the payment of annuities, equal to the interest thereon; the amounts were then capitalized, and are made a permanent endowment of their respective churches. I believe, that they have long ago found that they had been better without it: the congregations take care to relieve themselves of a measure of the burden of their pastor's support, greater than he receives from the endowment."

Referring to his own work at this time, he says:

"The membership of my church was steadily increasing..... All worked harmoniously, and during my absences maintained the prayer-meetings, and visitation of the sick. In July I preached at Hawkesbury, L'Original, Caledonia Springs, and Russeltown, being only one Sabbath absent.

From time to time I heard from my dear friends in Glasgow and Edinburgh. It was a delight to me to hear of the prosperity of the church of my first pastorate. The announcement of the ordination of David Russell, son of Dr. Russell, of Dundee, this year, over a church in Glasgow, gave me great pleasure. He was one of 'my young men' in Albany Street Church, at that time studying law, which he relinquished for the study of Theology. He still labours in the same church, respected and honoured of all."

Anxious to secure suitable and efficient pastors for our vacant churches, Mr. Wilkes wrote Mr. Archibald Duff, who had left Montreal for Scotland, to study for the ministry, in 1836, and was about to complete his course of preparation, asking him to return and take a charge in Canada. Mr. Duff, however, replied that he felt disposed to remain in Scotland at that time, and laboured there some years, first in Fraserburgh, and afterwards in Howick. In 1856, however, he returned to Canada, bringing with him his family of four sons and two daughters, and settled in Cowansville. Subsequently, he took

charge of the important church at Sherbrooke, to which he continued to minister for many years. A few years before his retirement from the active duties of the pastorate, the University of Vermont conferred on him the degree of D. D., an honour much appreciated by his many friends. He died in England, while on a visit to his son, the Rev. Dr. Duff, of Airedale College, in November, 1883. *

Another of Mr. Wilkes' "young men," Mr. Alfred Howson, who had been an active member of the church, and superintendent of the Sunday School, in St. Maurice Street, left for England about this time, to study for the Christian ministry, and on the completion of his College course settled there, and became pastor of a church at Keswick. Thus, Mr. Wilkes remarks, "although we got ministers from Britain, we occasionally gave others in return."

In the month of September, 1839, Mr. Wilkes married Susan Holmes, the widow of Mr. John McDonell, a merchant of Montreal. The children returned from Brantford, and the home circle was enlarged by the addition of two twin stepdaughters. Mrs. Wilkes is spoken of by those who knew her, as a woman of ability and piety, greatly interested in the Protestant Orphan Asylum, of which she was for many years First Directress, and active, as far as domestic duties allowed her, in every good work. Of the three children born of this marriage, only one son, Thomas Holmes Wilkes, reached maturity, the other two having died in infancy.

Not very long after his marriage, Mr. Wilkes, who occasionally took exercise on horseback, was thrown from his horse on to a heap of stones, and falling upon his head, received a severe scalp wound, which, but for God's good Providence, and his own previous care of his health, might have led to serious results. As it was, however, nothing worse happened than the necessity for shaving his head, the wearing of a black

* See Biographical Sketch in *Canadian Cong. Year Book* for 1884-85, page 74.

silk skull cap, and a temporary suspension of work, by order of his medical attendant. This was almost the only occasion during his long ministry in which he was prevented from preaching by illness or inability.

About this period, (1840) the name of the Rev. Joseph Anderson appears, for the first time, as one of our Canadian pastors. He had been teaching a private school in Sorel, but had united with the church in Montreal, as the nearest with which he could connect himself; and being a good man, and possessed of good abilities and excellent education, he was ordained to the ministry, and settled in Melbourne. From thence, after a few years, he removed to Hawkesbury, where, unhappily, difficulties arose out of unfortunate domestic relations, from any blame for which he himself, after careful investigation, was fully acquitted, but which, nevertheless, led him to relinquish his charge, and remove to the United States.

Several exploratory and missionary journeys were undertaken this year, one in the spring extending through Farnham, Dunham, Cowansville, and Brome, and resulting in the formation of churches in the two last named places, and subsequently one in Brigham; while another tour, in November, extended through L'Original, Hawkesbury, St. Andrews, and surrounding region.

In September, Mr. Wilkes attended the meetings of the Congregational Union of Canada West, preaching the sermon before that body, from Acts XIX, 20.

The subjoined account of a visit to the Indian Village of St. Francis, we give in his own words:

"The year 1841 was memorable as that on which we came out of our political confusion into a well ordered government, with responsible ministers and parliamentary efficiency. On the 10th February, I left home on one of my missionary journeys, that being the day that THE PROVINCE OF CANADA was constituted, by the Union of the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. Public rejoicings were being expressed as I drove along the banks of the river towards L'Assomption, where I preached

that evening. Mrs. Hibbard had a school here, which was doing good ..... Proceeding to Sorel, I again preached, and encouraged the people with the hope of a supply, which was afterwards furnished, the Rev. James Buckham labouring there for a season. From thence, I drove to the Indian Village of St. Francis. I found Peter Paul O'Sunkirhine there, who interpreted what I said to the Indians, in the little chapel. He had seventy under his care. The women sang very sweetly. As Protestants, they have had to bear persecution from their Roman Catholic compatriots. There were only 360 of these Abenaqui Indians left. I baptized O'Sunkirhine's child; the name given was Solomon! Passing along through Drummondville, the residence of Mr. Dunkerley was reached, at Durham. There I had a good congregation, and had a conference with the people afterwards, regarding the support they could give their pastor. £35 was all they could promise. The Society in England at that time guaranteed a fixed salary, from which was deducted what the people contributed. This was not a good plan, and was amended afterwards; the people promising their pastor a fixed sum, and the Society supplementing, with the understanding, that as their numbers and capabilities increased, the grant would be reduced. Melbourne was next visited, and a service held. At Danville I spent the Sabbath, and found Mr. Parker, the pioneer Missionary of this region, doing good work. Returning to Melbourne on Tuesday, another service was held, and conference had with Dr. Rankin and others, in regard to the support they were able to give to Mr. Anderson, who had been labouring faithfully for some time among them. The next day I spent in Sherbrooke. Mr. Robertson, the pastor, had announced my coming, and there was a large audience. He was "a master in Israel," and accordingly attracted all the educated men of the place, and was surrounded to the end by one of the most intelligent congregations in the country. There I met J. Fraser, Esq., of the British American Land Company, father of Dr. Donald Fraser, now of London. I drove over to Eaton on Friday, and preached in the evening. Mr. Sherrill was progressing steadily in his work. The people had erected a very neat church building, costing really £500, though not more than £75 had been contributed in money. On Saturday, went over to Bury—was pleased to see the marked improvement in the congregation. On Sabbath morning had two rooms filled, from 120 to 130 present, to whom I preached. They were very attentive. A number were but poorly clothed; the weather was cold and stormy, yet they came great distances. We observed the Lord's Supper, at the close of the service. On Monday, I drove forty miles to Stanstead, visiting Mr. Hall and his people. On Tuesday, was

blocked in by a furious snow storm. The next day, got as far as Frost Village, and the following day to Abbotsford., There I found my friend Mr. Miles very ill, and a young son, Alfred, dead. It was a house of mourning, and I hope that I was able to give them some comfort in their affliction.

On Friday I drove home."

The above narrative, he adds, "is a sketch of one of many similar journeys during a number of years. It may be taken as a sample of such as were usually undertaken during the winter."

In the autumn of the same year, Mr. Wilkes went to Quebec to preach at the opening of the handsome new Congregational church which had been erected in Palace Street, and which, unhappily, after so many years of faithful labour by Mr. Atkinson, and his successors, Messrs. Drummond, Heudebourck, Powis, and others, now lies desolate, through the drifting away of the Protestant population from the ancient Capital.

Mr. Wilkes, along with a number of other ministers and christian laymen, interested in educational matters, were anxious for the establishment of a High School in Montreal. After several consultations, it was agreed that such a school should be established on the broadest possible basis as to religion. In order to get rid of all possible appearance of sectarianism, the ministers proposed that the Board of proprietors or managers should consist entirely of laymen—a proposal in which the Rev. Mr. Esson and Dr. Bethune, Rector of the parish, cheerfully concurred. The school has been a very successful one. In 1853, it was taken into connection with McGill College. Eighteen years afterwards, the present School system, under Protestant Commissioners of Education in Montreal, having been established its management was transferred to them, and it is now by them maintained in a state of great efficiency.

These multiform labours and cares of a general and denominational character do not appear to have been allowed to

interfere with his own proper ministerial and pastoral duties; for we note that during these busiest years of his Agency work, he has constantly on hand a course of expository or biographical sermons—nine on "Noah and his times;' thirty-six on the Parables; twenty-one on the Miracles; twenty-nine on the first Epistle of St. John; forty-three on the "Life and Labours of the Apostle Paul;" and ten on "Religion in relation to the several stages of human life;" as well as others later on.

Early in 1843, with a view to enlisting the membership in more active spiritual work, as well as to reach those whom he himself was unable to meet, a plan of domiciliary visiting was proposed to the church and adopted, according to which twelve visitors were appointed, to go in pairs, to the home of every member of the church, for conversation on religious subjects, with them and their families. The city was also divided into districts, and a plan of domestic prayer meetings arranged, in connection with which, at one time, an aggregate of 150 persons were in weekly attendance. A branch Sunday School was opened in Quebec Suburbs, where the Pastor held an afternoon service every alternate Sabbath. These methods certainly resulted in good, to which the writer can bear personal testimony, and they might well be adopted in other places, under similar circumstances. February 20th was observed as a day of special devotion, and was followed by a series of services every morning and evening of the week. The membership is now reported at 175.

A number of literary lectures were also given about this period, in connection with the then recently established Mercantile Library Association, which he assisted in organizing. The subject of one was "Commerce, its beneficent influence on Mankind." This was followed by others on the "History of Commerce, down to the 16th Century;" two on "The Influence of Cities;" and a fifth, on the occasion of the opening of a new suite of rooms by the Association, on a similar subject.

It seems, too, that forty-five years ago, it began to dawn on workers in the Temperance Reform, that however excellent and useful their efforts might be in the line of "moral suasion," the final triumph of the cause would never be secured without invoking the strong arm of the law in its behalf; and Mr. Wilkes, holding this view, wrote a tract on "The duties of Electors in reference to the Temperance Question," which was printed by the Montreal Temperance Society. An address was also given about the same time, on the means of suppressing intemperance.

The names of a number of ministers appear in memoranda belonging to this period, for the first time. The Rev. David Gibbs, son of the Rev. Joseph Gibbs, who had received his education at Andover, took charge of the station in Russeltown, where he re-organized the church which still exists. The Rev. David Connell, son of a member of St. Maurice Street Church, in Montreal, but a graduate of the Scottish Theological Academy, returned to this country, and accepted the pastorate of the churches in Brome and Cowansville, in both of which places church edifices were erected during his incumbency. He did not remain long in charge, however, and on resigning, removed to the United States.

The Rev. James Vincent, who had been trained partly in England, and partly in our own Theological Academy, was recommended to the church in Paris, (with which Burford was afterwards associated) and settled there, where he remained until 1856, when, just as the churches under his charge reached the point of self support, he resigned the pastorate, and crossed the border into the adjoining State of Michigan.

The Rev. J. J. Carruthers arrived from England in the month of October, 1841, and his coming led, as we shall see, to important movements in Montreal. It had been intended that he should occupy Brockville, but matters were not quite ready for his introduction there, and in the meantime he was requested to supply the St. Maurice Street pulpit, while the

pastor made extensive missionary tours in the Ottawa region, and in the Eastern Townships. Being an admirable preacher and writer, the desire was widely expressed to retain him, if possible, in Montreal, with a view to the organization of another church, the establishment of a Theological Institute, and the publishing of a denominational periodical.

"I was alone here," Mr. Wilkes says, "all the other denominations had more than one minister in this Metropolitan city. A monthly paper would be of great value to us, and we needed some training school for Christian young men whom it might be desirable to introduce to the Christian ministry. I conferred with Mr. Carruthers, who fell in with these views very cordially, and then I wrote at length to the Society. They concurred in the general plan, which was carried out in each particular, in following years. ..... We founded a small Theological Academy in which Mr. Carruthers took the departments of Theology, Homiletics, and their correlated subjects, and I took Logic and Mental Philosophy; and on the church's recommendation of them, Messrs. Robert Robinson, John Bowles, Charles Mackay, and Norman McLeod, were received as students in the newly formed Institution, the Colonial Society promising £25 per annum towards the support of each of the young men received, during their term of study. A similar Institution already existed in the West, under the tutorial management of the Rev. Adam Lillie, by whom it had been commenced in Dundas in 1839, but it was felt to be too far away, at that time, to be of much value to the churches in Lower Canada. The two were afterwards united, in 1846, and established in Toronto, under Principal Lillie."

The monthly paper projected was also commenced in January, 1842, with the title of *The Harbinger*, and under the editorial management of Mr. Carruthers, with the assistance of "a Committee of Gentlemen." The need of a denominational periodical was strikingly shown by the fact that one of its earliest issues contains a very vigorous reply, by the Rev. Adam Lillie, then Secretary of the Congregational Union of Canada West, to an attack, by the Editor of *The Church*, on Congregationalists, or Independents. They have he asserted, "ever been notorious for their enmity to the Church and Crown. ..... The sect retains in Canada its anti-monarchical and anti-

episcopal characteristics." The appearance and management gave so much satisfaction, that in a few months a demand was made for a more frequent issue, and after publication of years, the *Harbinger* gave place to the *Christian Observer*, a weekly paper, edited by the Rev. Richard Miles, which, however, ceased to appear within a twelvemonth, from lack of sufficient support.

As yet nothing had been done by the Colonial Society, for the Provinces of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. Mr. Wilkes' diocese was sufficiently large to take all the time and attention he could give to it; but at their earnest request, he undertook a journey of exploration through these far-away Provinces, which occupied him six weeks, and proved to be of great interest and value to the work of the Society. Mr. Wilkes says of it:

"I left home, August 8th, and went by St. Albans, Burlington, and Montpelier, to Boston; thence to Portsmouth. There I took a steamer to St. John, New Brunswick. There I was the guest of Mr. Alfred Smithers, the manager of the Bank of British North America, who had removed thither from Quebec. I preached in the Presbyterian Church the following Sunday, unfolding my mission. The next day, I crossed the Bay of Fundy, calling at Digby, and proceeding up the river to Annapolis. There I took the stage through Cornwallis County, Bridgetown, Kentville, Horton, Windsor, and the coach to Halifax, N. S. The church where we had service—St. Matthew's—was a very old one. I was surprised to find that Watt's psalms and hymns were used in the service of song, and on examining the inscriptions on the tomb-stones, the impression was made on my mind, that it had been a Congregational church, and because the people did not know where to go for, or could not obtain a minister of their own denomination, they had fallen into the hands of the Presbyterians. I have no doubt that it is a case like that of John Street, now 'Chalmers' Church,' Quebec.

I obtained the use of a public room, and preached to such as assembled in response to my advertisement, of whom there remained at the close of the service a few who had been Congregationalists; and one family, that of Mr. John Burton, who had belonged to Dr. Fletcher's church, at Stepney.

The Rev. Mr. Ward, of St. Johns, Newfoundland, was anxious that I

should visit that place, but I found it would occupy nearly a month to do so, and I had to relinquish the idea. I was discouraged by Mr. Melvin, the pastor, from attempting to reach Liverpool, on account of the distance, and the almost impassible state of the roads.

On my return to St. John, N. B., I proceeded up the river to Sheffield, where I found a Congregational church about a century old, and a patriarch upwards of ninety years of age,—Mr. Burpee. They possessed a parsonage, and some fifty acres of glebe land, and were a singularly intelligent people. They had settled there as Congregationalists from New England, while that was a colony of Great Britain. At the time of my visit, they were supplied by a Presbyterian minister, not knowing where to find one of their own denomination. The meeting-house was upwards of one hundred years old. ..... I noticed in St. John, and here, extraordinary eagerness to hear the Word. Crowds came to hear me. I got to the pulpit of the Baptist church—the largest in the city—with difficulty, so great was the press. .....

My mind was made up that the Society should send a minister to Sheffield, where he would receive support; and one each sent to St. John and Halifax; and in accordance with these proposals, in due time, the Rev. James Porter was sent to Sheffield; the Rev. J. C. Gallaway to St. John; and the Rev. W. H. Heudebourck to Halifax."

In September, 1842, St. Maurice Street Church, which had been closed for repairs, was re-opened for public worship, Mr. Carruthers preaching on the occasion from Josh. xiii. 1, "There remaineth yet very much land to be possessed," the discourse afterwards appearing in the *Harbinger* for October. The church was, under Mr. Wilkes' wise and faithful ministry, steadily progressing in strength and numbers. £700 of debt had recently been paid off, by a special effort, and the whole outlook was promising.

The proposal to establish a second Congregational church, with Mr. Carruthers for its pastor, was taking shape. The lecture-room of the Natural History Society had been engaged by his friends for an afternoon service, and a commencement had been made there on the last Sabbath of December, 1841, with encouraging prospects.

The original intention had been not to enfeeble the existing

church, but to form a new congregation at the East end of the city, as far as possible out of new materials, and proceed to the erection of a small and inexpensive building, on a piece of land of sufficient size to admit of its enlargement when necessary. These plans, unhappily, were not adhered to, the result being very unpleasant relations, for a time, between the two churches, and ultimate disaster to the new and promising enterprise. A very desirable but expensive site was purchased, on the corner of Gosford and Champ de Mars Streets, and a building capable of seating 800 persons was erected upon it, Mr. Wilkes as senior pastor, having been asked to lay the foundation stone of it, in July, 1843. The prospect of a heavy debt upon the undertaking led sometimes to efforts of a not very brotherly kind, to detach persons from the mother church, and secure their adhesion to the new cause, and some twenty or more prominent members withdrew from St. Maurice St., greatly crippling its resources for years to come. Mr. Wilkes, while expostulating with the leaders in this movement, in regard to what he considered their folly, was as friendly as he could consistently be to the effort; but the result was, as he feared it would be, disastrous. Expectations of help from England were not fulfilled. Pastor and people were discouraged and paralyzed with the heavy debt, and after about two years of struggle, Mr. (now Rev. Dr.) Carruthers accepted a call to the church, of which Dr. Payson was formerly the pastor, in Portland, Me., and left the city. After some months, during which the pulpit was supplied by various individuals, the Rev. F. H. Marling, an alumnus of the Toronto Theological Academy, took charge, and toiled hard for five or six years, to lift the church out of its difficulties, and at first with every indication of ultimate success. But he was called to the pastorate of the Richmond Street (afterwards Bond Street) Congregational church in Toronto, and felt it his duty to accept the call. The Rev. Arch. Burpee succeeded him, and remained a little over a year; after which the congregation scattered,

and the property was sold to pay the claims lying against it. "A very sad story," says Mr. Wilkes truly, "with a very plain moral attaching to it, in regard to building beyond your means."

To return to our narrative,—on the 1st November, 1843, Mr. Wilkes preached at the opening of a new Congregational church at Sorel, in which a congregation under the pastoral care of the Rev. James Buckham, father of Dr. Buckham, of Vermont University, were to worship. On the 23rd of the same month, he was called to preach at the dedication of the newly erected church-edifice in Brockville, where, on the following Lord's Day, a church of twenty-three members was organized, with the Rev. James Drummond for their pastor. The same numbers of the *Harbinger*, which contain these items, refer also to the erection of Congregational churches at Whitby and Hawkesbury, to each of which His Excellency the Governor-General (Lord Metcalfe) "cheerfully gave" a donation of £25, as he did also to Gosford Street Church, in Montreal. Thus the work was progressing. Referring to this period, Mr. Wilkes says,—

"My correspondence with the Colonial Missionary Society indicates the difficulty we had, in all our Missionary Stations, to get the people to subscribe for the support of their ministers, the amount they fairly ought to pay, and because of this, the brethren were in pecuniary difficulties. I find the names of W. Clarke, Nall, Baker, Wastell, Harris, Climie, Lillie, Mair, Machin, Hayden, Denny, Lumsden, and Fenton, on Mr. Roaf's list of ministers receiving quarterly payments from the Society, and on my list were Messrs. Carruthers, Miles, Anderson, Byrne, Connell, Dunkerly, Drummond, Sherrill, and Gibbs. On each list were students; we had four. Mr. Baker's name reminds me, that about this time he removed to Brantford. Mr. Harris afterwards became an Episcopalian, as did also Mr. Machin."

The difficulties in the way of the churches becoming self-supporting are thus explained in a letter to the Society:—

"1st. Their poverty, necessitating a degree of economy, and a process of training adverse to liberal giving. 2nd. Diversity of sects. 3rd.

The plan of the Episcopal Church, which says, "We do not want your money."

He then asks the Committee to send out to the brethern some encouragement, that neither they nor the field would be deserted.

"Proceed slowly, cautiously, firmly, but never draw back.

Young men trained in this country will cost less as labourers; while for a time, we must depend on imported brethren, for the principal stations. You have not yet tested the churches in England. Use the press more. There are two grounds which may be urged,—the usual missionary plea, and the importance of our principles."

The missionary journeys in January and February, 1844, included meetings, or preaching services, at Petit Brulé, Sorel, Inverness, West Brome, and eight other stations. Acting upon the instructions of the Committee of the Colonial Society, Mr. Wilkes, throughout this tour, insisted that each station must give a definite pledge of the amount it would raise towards the support of the pastor, stating that henceforth only a specified sum would be granted to each church, and that the people must do the remainder, if they desired to retain their minister.

The difficulties and dangers connected with travelling in those days, especially in the winter season, are well exemplified by a somewhat perilous incident that occurred during this journey. Driving through the long woods between Sherbrooke and Waterloo, in a sleigh, and accompanied by one of Mr. Robertson's daughters, a large heavily laden team was met. The snow was three or four feet deep, and there was no way of turning out, as there was only one beaten track, and the runners would sink into the deep snow on either side. Mr. Wilkes got out and took the horse by the head, in the hope of being able to pass, with great care. The deep snow, however, caused the horse to be restive and he plunged, upsetting the sleigh, which, with the horse, passed over both of the travellers. Fortunately, the horse obeyed the call to halt, and although both Miss Robertson and Mr. Wilkes were shaken, and alarmed, they were not seriously hurt.

In July, 1844, the young men of the church and congregation made a presentation to the pastor of a silver tea-service, with a suitable inscription on the tray, and an address, in which grateful mention is made of the special interest which he had always manifested in them. Among the names appended to the address are those of T. M. Taylor, Andrew Robertson, and others, who have since occupied prominent positions in the city.

Several other young men having made application, with the consent of the church, for admission to the Theological Academy, arrangements were made, with the approval of the Colonial Society, to gather them together under the care of Mr. and Mrs. Miles, in a house in Notre Dame Street, rented for the purpose; and, with the additions recently made, of Messrs. K. M. Fenwick, Henry Lancashire, and Robert Swinton, there were now eight students in attendance.

The building in St. Maurice Street again becoming too small for the wants of the congregation, notwithstanding the loss of a number who had left it to connect themselves with the church in Gosford Street, measures were adopted for the erection of a new and much larger edifice, in a more desirable part of the city. A suitable site having been secured on St. Radegonde St., plans were obtained, and contracts were let, under the supervision of the late John Redpath, Esq., (who was, then temporarily connected with the congregation) and early in the spring of 1845, the foundation-stone of the building, so long known afterwards as "Zion Church," was laid. It was agreed from the incipiency of the movement "that the pews in the new edifice should not be rented, but should be free, though for convenience allocated to families and individuals, and that the entire support of the institution should be by subscriptions, as far as practicable, weekly,"—a plan which was very strenuously urged by the late Mr. John Dougall, who was one of the deacons. The building thus

begun was not completed and ready for occupancy until the autumn of the following year.

During the summer of 1845, the Rev. Thomas Binney, of London, came over to New York, and thence to Niagara and Toronto, where he had a conference with the Western brethren. He was in an exceedingly depressed state of mind, owing to severe domestic affliction. On his coming to Montreal, Mr. Wilkes says,—

"He was my guest for a few days, but could not be persuaded to preach or take any public service. He spent all the time in my study, except when I could get him out of doors for a short drive or walk. When in 1849, I visited him in London, he expressed his great regret that he had been unable to do any thing for Canada when out here, on account of the state of his health, but promised us another visit at a future time. The promise, however, was never fulfilled. He went to Australia instead, and did much for that colony, by his presence and preaching."

The French Canadian Missionary Society, having requested the Church to spare Mr. Wilkes for a month, that he might visit the United States on its behalf, and this being agreed to, two visits were made. He says,—

"I attended the May Anniversaries in New York, in 1846, and spoke upon the wants and state of Canada, at the meeting of the Foreign Evangelical Society. Spoke also at the meeting of the Bible Society, in the old Broadway Tabernacle. ..... A number of Southern gentlemen introduced themselves to me, and thanked me for the information given. In October, I went to New York again, this time accompanied by the Rev. Emmanuel Tanner. I attended the annual meeting of the Orphanage, supported by the venerable Mrs. Bethune, and afterwards dined with her. During this visit, I preached for Dr. Gardner Spring; in the Washington Square Reformed Dutch Church, Dr. Hutton's; and in Commerce Street Church. We visited Philadelphia, also, where a public meeting was held, among the speakers at which was the Rev. D. Tyng, of St. George's Episcopal Church, New York. He spoke on behalf of our French Canadian Society. He died soon after, uttering the memorable words, "Father! Stand up for Jesus," upon which Dr. Duffield was stirred up to write the beautiful hymn, 'Stand up, stand up for Jesus.' I preached for, and was the guest of Rev. Dr. Eddy, Newark, New Jersey.

We visited also Providence, Rhode Island, Boston, New Haven, and other places, preaching or holding meetings in behalf of the Society, and considerable interest was excited." .....

Up to this period, the Canada Educational and Home Missionary Society had maintained a separate organization, obtaining annually some assistance from the American Home Missionary Society in the prosecution of its work. The time had come, however, when it was felt desirable to form a distinctively Congregational Missionary Society for Canada East, as had already been done six years before, for Canada West; and this having been accomplished, a union was effected with the previously existing organization, and henceforth the Mission churches looked for aid to the one Committee in Montreal. Those Missionary pastors, however, who had come out from Britain, with a guarantee from the Colonial Society, still received their grants from that Society through Mr. Wilkes.

"During the latter part of 1845, and early in 1846, our Unitarian friends were very busy circulating, in printed sheets, tracts and pamphlets, in our counting-houses, shops, and dwellings, their sentiments, often in Scripture language, endeavouring to show that the Bible did not teach evangelical doctrine. The effort was so persistent, that it seemed to me some one should take up the question, and discuss it, that the other side might be seen. My Congregational 'standpoint' was perhaps quite as favourable as any, from which to view, and call attention to the questions involved. I therefore ventured to announce a series of Sunday evening lectures on our Lord's divinity. Eight sermons were preached on the following subjects:

1. The doctrine of the Trinity not against reason. Direct proofs of Christ's divinity.
2. The Deity of Christ argued from the name Jehovah, and attributes.
3. The Deity of Christ proved by his works, and the worship offered to him.
4. The Personality and Deity of the Holy Spirit.
5. The nature and depravity of man.
6. Our Lord's vicarious Atonement.
7. The Atonement; further proofs, and objections answered.
8. The difficulties of Unitarianism.

A reminiscence of this occasion is given in the following paragraph:

"As we drew near the St. Maurice Street Church, a scene of unusual excitement presented itself. The people were crowding in, and the young men were carrying up benches and seats from the basement. By the time Mr. Wilkes entered the pulpit every available spot was occupied; the vestry was also filled. This was the case during the entire series. The interest did not flag to the end. A number of Unitarians attended the lectures, and neither time nor labour was spared to make the most of the opportunity, in the fullest presentation of the truth. The tension and amount of study necessary in preparing these discourses were very great, and it was observed by more than one, that the slightly grey hair of the preacher became decidedly greyer shortly afterwards.

The result, by God's blessing, was very satisfactory. A number of letters were received from people of all denominations, expressing gratitude for the good they had received, by having their faith confirmed in these great verities; and large additions to the church, on profession of faith, followed the delivery of the lectures."

Partly with a view to resisting these encroachments of Unitarianism, as well as those of High-Church Anglicanism, and Romanism, the Canadian Evangelical Alliance was formed at this time. Under its auspices, ministers of several denominations preached in turn on one evening of the week, during the winter of 1845–46, in the Great St. James Street Wesleyan church, on some subject or doctrine of importance, that dealt with by Mr. Wilkes being upon "Justification by Faith." It was also employed in resisting sectarian predominance in the Universities, and in similar objects having relation to the general welfare. It continued its work for several years. But, alas! controversy arose in regard to some statements of Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Cramp, the Baptist pastor, who was an active member.

"I forget by whom,"—the jottings say—"but the tendency there always is to suppose that a cordial alliance requires that every difference of opinion should be kept, at all times out of sight, led to denunciation of my Baptist friend's utterances, and alas! the Alliance element became attenuated until it could not be found. Some years afterwards, enquiry

was made as to what had become of it, and the naughty reply was given, 'It died of the cramp.'"

At the meeting of the Congregational Union of Eastern Canada, held in June, 1846, it was resolved to close the Theological Institution in Montreal, and send the students whose curriculum was not yet completed, to Toronto, to be placed under the care of Mr. Lillie. Of the brethren who completed their course of study in Montreal, the Rev. Charles Mackay settled in St. John, N. B., where, after several years of excellent service, he died before reaching middle age. The Rev. John Bowles took charge of the little struggling church at Chateauguay, and laboured there most faithfully and successfully for about two years, when, returning from a preparatory service at which he had preached a most impressive discourse on Phil. i, 21, "To me to live is Christ, and to die is gain," he was drowned, by his horse and sleigh breaking through the ice on the Chateauguay River, in January, 1848. The writer, who, as a student, filled the vacancy thus created, during the next two summer vacations, can testify to the universal love and esteem in which he was held by the community. The Rev. Robert Robinson settled first at English River, and thence removed to Hamilton. He has since occupied several important spheres, with great efficiency and success; and in 1868 was elected Chairman of the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec. He still lives, but is, through physical infirmity, no longer in pastoral charge. The Rev. Norman McLeod, after a brief incumbency at Granby, went to Utah Territory, to preach Christ among the Mormons, and their "Gentile" neighbours, and still labours in the United States, where the Rev. Thomas Bayne, the remaining graduate of the Montreal Institution, who ministered for a while in St. Andrews and Melbourne, is also believed to be living. The record of the Montreal "School of the Prophets" is, therefore, one of which the churches have no reason to be ashamed.

CHAPTER IX.

1846–1849.

On the first Sunday of November, 1846, just ten years and one month from the commencement of his pastorate, Mr. Wilkes preached the last discourses in St. Maurice St. Church. The discourse in the forenoon was entitled "God's mercies remembered in this church;" and that in the evening "Responsibility involved in preaching and hearing the Gospel." A deep impression was produced by the services.

In a letter Mr. Wilkes writes,—

"A decade of years forms no small part of a man's life, and those years spent in work for Christ and his kingdom naturally suggest some very serious questions, and no little ground for humiliation before God. And yet in harmony with this, there is felt to be much cause for gratitude. During the first seven years of the ten, the question now and again arose, always, however, in the secrecy of my own heart, 'Ought I to have left Edinburgh?' There was more apparent result of my three years' labour there than of my seven here. I have always fallen back, however, on the recollection of my earnest prayerful desire to do right, at the time, and upon my work and influence on the country in general, helping in its youth to mould the plastic elements of its character. But all such doubts are now banished, and I wish to work on in hope, in patience, and in prayer." .....

On the next Lord's day "Zion" Church, as it was resolved to call the new edifice, was solemnly dedicated to the worship of God. Three services were held. In the morning the pastor preached; in the afternoon the Rev. Robert McGill, A.M., of St. Paul's Church; and in the evening, the Rev. Matthew Richey, A.M., of the Wesleyan Church. The building was crowded at each service.

The adoption of the plan of "weekly offerings" instead of pew rents, which was then comparatively new, and of making all pews free to casual hearers and strangers, while yet they

were, for convenience, allocated to regular worshippers, was announced and explained. It was, at the same time, agreed that a change should be made in the method of examining candidates for membership.

"Up to this period, the habit of the church had been to receive applicants into fellowship upon recommendation of the pastor as to their suitability, and the report, in open church meeting, of two visitors who had been appointed to converse with them. I had long seen the inconvenience of this mode of action, and how apt it was to stand in the way of earnest but sensitive people applying for membership, because of the trying ordeal through which they were called to pass. Some three years before, I had proposed the appointment of a committee at the beginning of every year, consisting of the deacons and an equal number of male members, not in office, who should be called the 'Standing Committee,' and whose duty it should be, *inter alia*, to receive names from the pastor, take their own method of ascertaining the knowledge, the character, and as far as needful the experience of the candidates, and then report them, for a month's probation, to the church, with the committee's recommendation, and the statement of anything interesting and instructive in their path of experience. My recommendation was declined as 'uncongregational.' I told them that so long as they had a perfectly free and full suffrage, nothing being done without their distinct vote in church-meeting assembled, they had true Congregationalism. But, as was my custom in such circumstances, I said, 'Brethren, I do not press the matter; we can go on as usual.' It so happened, however, that about this time there were some very indiscreet reports brought in. ..... The result was, that I was asked to re-introduce my suggestion regarding a committee, which being done, it became the chosen practice of the church during the whole of my active pastorate."

Shortly after the dedication of Zion Church, a brick schoolhouse which had been erected by the "Sunday School Society" in Mountain Street, was publicly opened, and a mission-school organized, with an attendance of 47 scholars. A day-school was also commenced, and maintained in connection with it, for more than a year. The plan of a School Society, as a separate organization, was found not to work well, and it was accordingly changed, and a Sunday School Committee formed, consisting of the pastor and deacons, and teachers,

thus bringing the work under the controul of the church, and sustaining it from its funds.

Early in January, 1847, the Rev. Caleb Strong, minister of the American Church, died very suddenly. Mr. Wilkes, who was on the most intimate terms with him, describes him as a young man of culture, elegant in his appearance and manners, and most earnest and zealous in the Lord's work.

Writing to his parents in regard to his death, he says:

"My beloved friend Strong has passed away. He took a part at the dedication of our new church, in November, and on New Year's day, we had met in his church at the Sunday School gathering, and had exchanged the usual cordial greetings. On the following Sunday morning I was told that he was dying. In the evening, I took my place at his couch, while his wife and other friends were also there. He was calm and strong in the faith of Christ. He knew the time of his departure was at hand, and said in meditative tones, 'What I should choose I wot not. I was asked to say a few words to those in the lower rooms, which I did, conveying a message from their dying pastor; and then prayed with him and with them. After spending some hours I bade him farewell. ..... He was as a brother beloved, and his death is an irreparable loss. ..... At the request of the widow and congregation, I gave an address at the funeral, and delivered a funeral sermon on the next Lord's day. The church on both occasions was crowded, with a deeply distressed congregation and representatives from all denominations."

The summer of 1847 was a dark and trying season. The ship fever, brought to our shores by immigrants, of whom several thousands died, and were buried at Point St. Charles, attacked many of the prominent citizens of Montreal. The Rev. Mark Willoughby, of Trinity Church, was attacked and fell a victim to it, as well as many of the priests and nuns. Mr. Wilkes, in common with other city pastors, was called to visit a number of cases, and among others, that of the Mayor of the city, Mr. John E. Mills, who contracted the disease in the discharge of his official duties, and died. There being no pastor, at the time, in the American Church, which Mr. Mills attended, Mr. Wilkes was requested to conduct the funeral

services. The funeral was a public one, and was attended by the City Council in a body, and by great numbers of the merchants of the city, including many Roman Catholics. The Governor-General was also represented by his carriage, and several of his suite. The address given on the occasion was afterwards printed at the request of the family.

Mr. Wilkes records a rather alarming experience in connection with one of these visits to the sick and dying. Usually careful, wherever possible, to have a free circulation of air in the room in which the patient was lying, he says:

"The last instance of the disease which I attended was in a room without a window, though there was one in the corridor. The victim recovered, and is now living. While kneeling, and in the act of prayer, I was sensible of swallowing, while speaking, what might be described as a floating cobweb. I said nothing, but on leaving the house, endeavoured to relieve myself of the poison, if I had swallowed any. The poison was said to remain in the system seven days, and then develope the disease. On the seventh day, without any apparent cause, I was seized with violent cholera symptoms. Dr. Holmes, who was called in, said there was no doubt I had inhaled the poison; but instead of producing the fever, it had passed off in this way. Had I taken the fever, I think there is little doubt it would have laid me in my grave. Thus are some taken away, and others left, amid almost the same circumstances."

In July, he delivered an address before the Theological Society of Dartmouth College, at the Commencement. The subject chosen was "What the world has a right to expect from the American Church." As an expression of their grateful appreciation, they afterwards elected him a member of their Phi-Beta-Kappa Society.

In August, he visited Boston, and preached for Dr. Blagden, in the old South Church, and several other places, in regard to one of which he says:

"One experience during this visit to Boston I must narrate. The Rev. Mr. P., pastor of ———Church, having received, late on Saturday evening, a telegram informing him of the dangerous illness of his wife, who was at Andover, and hearing that I was in the neighbourhood, drove to

my lodging, on his way to the train, to beg me to supply his pulpit the following day. I had never seen Mr. P. before, but hearing of his trouble, I said I would do so. There was no time to notify any of his deacons. Next morning I proceeded according to direction, and found the church. There did not appear to be any official in attendance, or any vestry; so I walked into the pulpit. As the people began to come into the church, and no one came to speak to me, I began to fear I had made some mistake. However, beckoning the door-keeper, I ascertained I was in the right place, and commenced the service. As soon as the benediction was pronounced, all, without exception, moved out, and left me to follow their example. Precisely the same course was repeated in the afternoon.

Twice I entered the house of God, and preached and departed, without the slightest word or look of recognition. It was my only experience of the kind, I am glad to say. I mention it as a warning, for, indeed, I would be sorry if such a want of courtesy should ever occur in any other church."

The Colonial Committee, having intimated that they were becoming somewhat wearied of the drain upon their funds on the part of churches, which were enjoying the labours of their missionaries and doing comparatively little for their support; it became the agent's unpleasant duty, on his next visitation of the churches, to inform them that the grants must be lessened in amount, and that if the people desired to retain their pastors, they must make greater efforts in the direction of self-support. "This was," he says, "among my most trying duties, as I was very often misunderstood, and felt to be unsympathetic with the poverty and the struggles of a new country." In consequence of the pressure thus brought to bear, several changes of pastorate resulted. The Rev. Mr. Byrne, who had been labouring for some months in Bytown, (now Ottawa) with a view to the establishment of a church there, also left, and the Rev. R. Miles visited it. But after considerable effort and expense, the attempt had to be abandoned for a time.

Other changes of a sadder character occurred. The Rev. John Bowles, as before noted, was drowned thus leaving the Chateauguay church without a pastor, never to be supplied

with another. And the Rev. David Gibb, of Granby, a most promising young man, was taken ill and died, leaving a widow (a daughter of Rev. Mr. Robertson, of Sherbrooke) and small family, and a church scarcely less devotedly attached to him, to mourn his loss. Towards the close of the year, the Rev. Henry Lancashire, an alumnus of the Congregational College, was chosen to fill the vacant charge.

Reference has already been made to lectures delivered under the auspices of the Mercantile Library Association. In November, 1848, the winter session of the Association was opened with great eclat. Mr. John Young had secured the patronage of His Excellency the Governor-General, Lord Elgin, who promised to attend with his staff. Mr. Wilkes was again selected as the Lecturer, and took for his subject, "Freedom of Mind." There was, of course, a crowded house. At the close of the lecture, Lord Elgin, who sat on the platform, arose and delivered an excellent address to young men. The lecture and address were published by the Association.

A few days afterwards, Mr. Wilkes was honoured with an invitation to dinner at Monklands, the residence of Lord Elgin. Colonel Bruce, his brother, was very attentive, and referred in a very complimentary manner to the lecture given a few days before. At dinner, Mr. Wilkes says:

"My temperance principles were put to the test, and I asked permission to pledge his Excellency in water, instead of taking wine with him. It brought up the matter at table. I frankly defined my position as that of total abstinence, for the simple purpose of being useful to others, especially as a minister of the Gospel. They all agreed that such a course was to be commended. I was so impressed with the thoughtfulness, kindness, and general excellence of Colonel Bruce, that I was not surprised when, some years afterwards, he was selected by the Prince Consort as Governor of the young Prince of Wales."

Two series of discourses were preached this year, one in the morning on "The duties of church members," and another

in the evening, thirteen in number, on "The Future State, and Man in his relations to it." Of his other discourses, two were published by request, entitled "The supreme importance of practical godliness," and "The afflictions of the church improved."

Frequent attendance at the annual meetings of the American Board of Foreign Missions, of which his friend S. G. Ward had made him an honourary member in 1837, and in whose operations he always felt a deep interest, brought Mr. Wilkes a good deal before the American churches, and correspondence shews that more than one effort was made to induce him to listen to overtures for his removal to the New England States. These applications, however, he quietly declined, and never brought them before his people, feeling that, unless in exceptional cases, so long as pastor and flock were united, and a good work was being done, such a tie should not be dissolved for the sake of a larger income, or even a wider sphere.

An interesting item in a letter from Hartford tells of his having been asked by the Chaplain, Mr. Galaudet, to conduct a service in the Retreat for the Insane. He writes:

"It was with very peculiar feelings I met about two hundred insane people, in the chapel. They sang quite nicely, and listened as the Scriptures were read and prayer was offered, and during the time that a few simple words were spoken, with as much attention and decorum as in many assemblies where the people were blessed with the full possession of their mental faculties. ..... What a well ordered, beautiful Retreat it is! ..... It is pleasant to know that a very large percentage of the patients recover."

The changes that had been wrought through the Corn Law agitation, and the Free Trade policy in England, greatly altered the commercial relations of the Colonies to the Mother Country, and though ultimately beneficial, no doubt greatly disturbed existing arrangements, and reduced many formerly prosperous Canadian merchants and others to bankruptcy.

Thus a number of persons who had subscribed largely to

wards the building of Zion Church became wholly unable to pay the promised instalments, in consequence of which an unexpected burden of debt fell on the people. Toward the end of 1848, the matter became serious. Mr. Wilkes says in his reminiscences, "Only a year was lacking ere we had to pay $5,000, the price of the land on which it stood. Sale by the sheriff was imminent unless we could find the money."

These serious embarrassments induced correspondence with the Society in England, whose committee had already expressed a desire to have me there for a few months, to advocate, in pulpits and on the platform, the cause of Colonial Missions.

At a special church meeting, held in Zion Church, March 5th, 1849, the whole subject was fully discussed, and the following resolutions were adopted:—

"The meeting, having considered the request of the Colonial Missionary Society, that the Rev. H. Wilkes should visit Great Britain, to attend the meetings of the English and Scottish Congregational Unions in April and May, and collect for Zion Church debt:—

Resolved: 1. That nothing but imminent danger to the cause in Montreal, and as a consequence in the Province, arising out of heavy mortgages on Zion Church which may be foreclosed at no distant day, could induce this meeting to incur the risk to Zion Church and congregation of parting with their pastor for the necessary length of time to visit Britain.

Resolved: 2. That the only way in which successful pecuniary aid can be reasonably expected from Britain, is that of adding to pulpit and platform appeals, personal application to the more wealthy and liberal members of each church visited.

Resolved: 3. That if Mr. Wilkes see no objection to adopting this mode in each locality where the services of a suitable friend are offered to introduce him, and recommend his application, this meeting, trusting to the encouragement offered by the friends in Britain, that no reasonable aid will be withheld, do hereby respectfully request Mr. Wilkes to accede to the invitation of the Committee of the Colonial Missionary Society.

(Signed,) HENRY VENNOR, Chairman.
THOMAS M. TAYLOR, Secretary.

A collecting book was furnished by the deacons, and the foregoing resolutions written on the first page."

Prior to his departure on the 16th of March, a day of special devotion was observed, and much prayer was offered for his safety and success. On reaching Boston, he continues:

"The Cunard SS. 'American' lay ready for her passengers, and we at once embarked. We had a boisterous trip to Halifax, which sent me o my state-room, thoroughly sea-sick; but after leaving that beautiful harbour, we had a most prosperous voyage to Liverpool. ..... My state-room companion was George H. Stuart, of Philadelphia, then a young man, full of love to Christ and His people. We organized in our saloon cabin, a daily meeting for Scripture reading and worship. On the Sunday I was asked to preach and conduct the service, which I did, reading the Church of England prayers. The sailors, to the number of about sixty, marched in, in their Sunday costume, and almost all the passengers were present. The singing was most hearty, and altogether it was a delightful service, and I received many warm thanks from the passengers. Before landing, Mr. Stuart said he would be my first contributor toward the object for which I was crossing the Atlantic, and handed me five pounds."

Many years afterwards, Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Stuart met in a morning prayer service, in Saratoga, at which the former was called on to preside, when, recognizing again his fellow-passenger, Mr. Stuart rose and said:

"The last time I saw Mr. Wilkes was on board the SS. 'America,' thirty years ago. Gratefully I acknowledge now, as I have often done before, that the impressions received from those daily meetings for the study of the Scriptures, and the conversations then held, have been a benefit and a blessing to me all my life." "Blessed are ye that sow beside all waters."

In Liverpool, Mr. Wilkes parted company with his fellow-passengers, and proceeded North at once, by rail to Montrose, and from thence by mail coach to Aberdeen, where the meetings of the Congregational Union of Scotland were to be held.

"None of my Scottish friends were aware of my coming, and this being my first visit to Aberdeen, I had some difficulty in finding the church where the meetings were to be held. On reaching it, the service had begun, and I took a seat in the gallery. The Rev. Mr. Stratton, of Hull,

delegate of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, was preaching. At the close of the service, I went down to the vestry, and seeing Dr. W. L. Alexander, stretched out my hand with the 'How do you do?' He lifted up his hands in astonishment, asking, 'Where did you come from? It is as if you had dropped from the clouds!' It was speedily a scene of joyous recognition, and I was among dear old friends. Those were indeed two 'red-letter days.'"

The first thing done was to prepare a plain statement of his case, and print it for circulation. This statement, which exhibited in brief, the history and importance of the church, its need of enlarged accommodation; its reasonable expectations when it began to build; its grievous disappointments, and unless aided, its impending ruin, by the forced sale of its building, was sent before him, and he followed, book in hand.

It had a P.S., "Mr. Wilkes designs to call on those to whom this address is sent, in order to afford them an opportunity to render assistance."

Adopting this course, one Sunday was spent in Edinburgh, preaching for Rev. Mr. Campbell, his successor in the pastorate, in Albany Street, where he expresses astonishment at finding so few changes in his former congregation, in thirteen years; then one Sunday in Dundee, where he was the guest of Mr. Edward Baxter, who had married "one of of his spiritual children." Leith, Greenock, and Dalkeith were also visited, the sorrowful note being appended to the mention of the last named place: "dear Napier had gone to his rest." One Sunday was also spent in Glasgow, as the guest of his old friends in his student days, Mr. and Mrs. McKeand, where also he enjoyed a most pleasant reunion with his former tutor Dr. Wardlaw, and with his *quondam* parishioner, David Russell, now the genial pastor of a Congregational church on the south side of the river. Preaching as he had opportunity in behalf of Colonial Missions, and telling the story of the Montreal church, he raised, in Scotland, "by hard toil, though no unpleasant rebuffs," the sum of two hundred and sixty-three pounds.

Proceeding to London early in May, he says:

"I was for five weeks the guest of the Rev. Thomas Binney, at Walworth, and afterwards for another five weeks of the Rev. Algernon Wells, at Upper Clapton. ..... It would be tedious to describe with minuteness my experience in London and its vicinity. I preached several times for Mr. Binney, also for Rev. A. Wells, Rev. George Clayton, Rev. John Burnet, Dr. Reed, and others. .....

My intercourse with Mr. Binney was a rare treat. During the few days he spent with me in Montreal, he was suffering much from mental depression; now he was full of life, interested and interesting. He took me to two or three public dinners, in connection with benevolent enterprises, where I met with and heard a number of distinguished men."

The ways of London society, even of its religious society in those days, were "peculiar." In a letter to his family in Montreal, Mr. Wilkes thus describes one of these dinners, to which he went with Mr. Binney:

"These London dinners are peculiar. The tickets are a guinea or more. The chairman is usually a nobleman, or distinguished person, and has near him those in whom he is specially interested. Mr. Binney had that advantage, and I, as his guest, was beside him. The toast-master stands near the chairman, and when the repast is over, calls out in formal sonorous tones, 'Fill your glasses, gentlemen.' His Lordship gives 'the Queen,' etc., etc. Then the Secretary reads the epitome of the Report; perhaps money is wanted; a prepared paper is handed down the tables, and names and amounts are appended and handed in.

On another occasion, Mr. Binney took me to a Drawing Room at the palatial residence of Mr. Farmer, a Wesleyan Millionaire. Liveried servants met us at the door and in the hall, announcing our names from our cards. We were received by host and hostess into large and splendid rooms. The design of the gathering was to listen to two or three foreign and English gentlemen, Missionaries and Scientists, on some point on which it was desired to awaken interest. Refreshments were served in an adjoining room. .....

I have also found time to visit a few of the old places of interest in which London abounds.

On one occasion, I went with some friends to the Oratory of St. Philip Neri which Faber, of Oxford Tract notoriety, had set up. He was there amid certain arrangements for auricular confession, and other insignia of Popish worship. The singing was pleasant, and his sermon, though High

Church, had some good points, and was obviously the production of a man of culture.

We also went to Freemasons' Hall to hear Daniel O'Connell and Lord Brougham. O'Connell's speaking was remarkable for his use of beautiful English, interspersed, when he saw fit, with the Irish brogue. Lord Brougham's address, which was an hour and a half long, was distinguished by the introduction of several episodes in which his wondrous treasures of knowledge on a great variety of subjects were poured forth; and then, coming back to the point in his argument, at which he had digressed, proceeding therewith until another occasion of digression occurred."

This was the pleasant and recreative side of his visit; the other was often absolutely distressing to him. So much time had to be spent in finding names, addressing circulars, planning how best to approach men, and, in short, how to get their money, that he says,—

"I began almost to despise myself, as I thought of it. ..... The whole thing would have been detestable, had it not been redeemed from mere money craving by the nature of the object sought to be gained by it. I believed it truly to be work for my Master, and earnestly sought His blessing and guidance.

I was particular to inform everyone that I could not use the slightest pressure; that they must consider the case on its own merits. 'Let everyone be fully persuaded in his own mind.' One or two rebuffs I did receive. Sending my documents to a wealthy Congregationalist on Dulwich Hill, I followed next day by omnibus. The servant left me standing in the capacious hall, while he went to call his master. I accosted him respectfully, giving my name, and asking if he had received my circular, and stated that as noted upon it, I had followed, in order to afford him an opportunity, if he saw fit, to contribute. He looked at me with suspicion, 'was not sure about such cases, etc.' I promptly closed the interview, by saying, that as the case was sufficiently recommended, I did not need to say that it was a worthy one, and bowed myself out of his presence. A day or two after I found a note lying for me at the office of the Colonial Society from this gentleman, saying, 'I was so much impressed with your independence, that believing the case to be good, I beg your acceptance of the enclosed cheque.'"

During Mr. Wilkes' sojourn in London, he was present at several meetings of the Colonial Committee, with whom he

had lengthened conference on the Canadian work, and also spoke at the anniversary of the Society, as well as those of one or two others, in Exeter Hall. Thirteen years had, as was to be expected, made considerable change in the personnel of the Committee.

"The Fathers whom I had met and left in 1836,—Collison, Yockney, Matheson, and others—had many of them been taken home. Dr. Reed was still living, but was taking a much less active part in Society matters. He was more absorbed in his wonderful work in behalf of the unfortunates of our race, such as idiots, etc. I received much encouragement and help, however, from the Revs. John and George Clayton, Dr. Pye Smith, Thomas James, Josiah Viney, Dr. Townley, and others, whose names and contributions are on my list. ..... London and neighbourhood contributed about £470.

In a memorandum relating to this period, Mr. Wilkes thus refers to important political events which transpired in Montreal during his absence.

"I was startled one forenoon in London by the announcement of a riot in Montreal, and the burning of the Houses of Parliament.* Lord Elgin had been chased on his way to Monklands, and pelted with rotten eggs,—an indignity which he never forgave, and which led to the removal of the seat of Government from Montreal. The occasion of the riot was the assent by the Governor-General to the Rebellion Losses Bill. It was the last spurt of anger about the Rebellion of a number of years before. The difficulty arose from the ultra-loyal people insisting upon no losses being paid but those of the loyalists. ..... I was very much impressed with the resources of the London *Times* on this occasion. It evidently knew where to lay its hand on a competent writer; for the morning after the announcement of the riot and its effects, there appeared a remarkably well informed article in its columns, very ably written, and exhibiting an accurate knowledge of all the details of the political situation."

From London, Mr. Wilkes went to Birmingham, the home of his childhood, where he was surprised and confounded, on going to the house of his uncle Phillips, to find himself very coolly received. A slip of paper with the text, "Thine own friend, and thy father's friend, forsake not," written upon it,

*April 25, 1849.

was laid upon the mantelpiece before him; and on an explanation being asked, it was found that a packet of letters written on the steamer, addressed to his relatives, and sent to a friend in London, to be stamped and posted, had never reached them; and knowing him to be in England, they not unnaturally felt neglected. On writing to his friend regarding it, the missing packet was found put carefully away in a drawer, and forgotten! It was, of course, immediately forwarded with profuse apologies, and the seeming neglect explained. The incident is noted to show how easily life-long friendships may be broken up by a mistake or accident, and how important it is to avoid uncharitable judgments.

About £90 was obtained in Birmingham, including a collection taken in Carr's Lane Chapel, through the kindness of Mr. James, his former pastor; and thence he went to Liverpool and Manchester. In Liverpool, Mr. John Cropper handed him five sovereigns, with a scolding for building a church without having the means to pay for it. He meekly confessed the impropriety, and accepted the sovereigns! The last subscription, completing the thousand pounds he had undertaken to collect, was received in Manchester, upon which he indites the following letter home, almost hysterical in his delight.

10th Sept. Manchester.

"I have made my last collecting call. Had you been in Market St., you would have been amused, for as I could not shout 'hurrah!' without attracting attention, I vigourously slapped my collecting book together, and proceeded to my lodgings, almost in a run, so thankful was I to get away from my five months' work. To myself I said, 'There now, it is done, and I will never again go round from house to house, and from warehouse to warehouse, collecting.' ..... I have tried never to write a letter on the subject, or ask an individual for a contribution, without praying for God's blessing and help in the matter. Again and again, I have had to remind myself that the silver and gold are His, and that it is not for myself that I am asking. Withal this, I felt humiliated to think that whenever I met men of means, the ruling desire was so to contrive my approaches to them as to secure a contribution. ..... How gladly

would I have given it out of my own purse, but alas! It is with a thrill of delight that I lay aside my red-covered book, which for so long, and in so many places, has been my companion. ..... Now I am going to take a short run on the Continent."

A few brief notes of this trip is all that it will be necessary to give. Crossing from Folkestone to Boulogne, six days were spent in sight-seeing in Paris, St. Cloud, and Versailles, with all their wondrous attractions in the way of churches, palaces and gardens. The services of the French Protestant church, in Rue St. Honoré, were attended on Sunday, and a pleasant hour spent with its pastor, Mr. Audebey. From thence Mr. Wilkes proceeded to Geneva by *diligence.*

"As we drove along among the Jura range of mountains, the scenery was very fine and impressive. We entered Geneva through the ancient gates, in the afternoon, having from early morning been charmed with the beauty and glory of lake and mountain, and, at the same time, struck by the wide difference in respect of cleanliness and thrift, between the Protestant villages and those inhabited by Roman Catholics. Geneva is naturally a place of great interest to all lovers of the Reformation. I went to the Cathedral, and entered Calvin's pulpit. ..... We (Rev. Philippe Wolff and I) dined at Dr. Merle D'Aubigné's, meeting Cæsar Malan. M. Gaussen, and others. After dinner, we went out on to the lake to see the sunset on Mont Blanc. The evening was clear, and the spectacle was one of great beauty. .....

On Sunday morning we attended service in Dr. Malan's chapel, where he preached; and in the afternoon, at the Oratoire, where the singing was exquisite, and Dr. D'Aubigné preached with great eloquence, reminding me somewhat of Dr. Chalmers. Setting forth by steamer on the lake to Lausanne, I climbed the steep ascent to the town, and inspected the old-fashioned place. The Terrace where Gibbon walked, and where he wrote the 'Decline and Fall' was pointed out. The drive to Berne was greatly enjoyed, and also the marvellous view afforded from the platform on which the old Cathedral stands, of the Oberland Alps. ..... A day was spent in Strasburg. The Cathedral with its famous clock, the Church of St. Thomas, the Protestant School of Theology, the Fortifications, the old-fashioned streets, all interested me. ..... The trip down the Rhine, with its wonderful panorama of castles, vineyards, hills, mountains, Roman ruins, cities in the distance, whose church steeples could be seen, etc., etc., filled us all with delight.

At Cologne, where, of course, the voyage ended, the Cathedral and other places of interest were visited. Walking along one of the streets, in the evening, the sound of voices in unison arrested my attention, and in a covered gateway, I found two dim lamps burning before the shrine of an image of the Virgin, and a young girl of the poorer classes kneeling and leading the devotions of a number of poor people around her. Her voice was clear and sweet, and one couldn't help wishing their evening chant had been offered to our divine Lord instead of the Virgin. .....

Brussels is a beautiful city, particularly in its newer parts, built somewhat after the fashion of the newer parts of Paris. I attended the Protestant Evangelical Church on Sunday. M. Painchaud preached a good sermon, and the whole service was interesting. He asked me to preach an English sermon in the afternoon, which I did, he sending notices to the hotels and other places. Above sixty were present. It was refreshing to meet with these earnest Christian friends, in a land so apparently given up to the ignorance and idolatry of Romanism. The next day, I visited Antwerp, with its Cathedral and the square in which it stands, with its tall buildings of various styles of architecture; then on to Ghent, Ostend, Dover, and London." ....

After spending a few days in London, and meeting again with the Committee of the Colonial Society, Mr. Wilkes sailed from Liverpool about the end of September, on the Cunard Steamer "Niagara," and found on board the Rev. John (now Dr.) Jenkins, then of the St. James Street Methodist church, Montreal, with whom he had very pleasant companionship, and who preached in the saloon on the Sunday. The voyage, during part of it, at least, was very rough, and for thirty-six hours the fury of the elements was such as could not be conceived of by any but an eye-witness. Early one morning, a sea struck the vessel on her fore-quarter, under the effect of which she reeled as if about to go down; a deafening crash indicated that her figure-head and iron cut-water had been torn off and lost. The captain, fearing that another such sea would sink her, "lay to," just keeping the engines moving to prevent her falling into the trough of the sea. The machinery was so much injured, that the rest of the voyage had to be performed with only one engine, and the assistance of the sails. But He who

gave to the sea his bounds, and holds the waters in the hollow of his hand, brought them to their desired haven in safety.

At the request of the Colonial Society, Mr. Wilkes landed at Halifax, spent a day or two with Rev. Mr. Heudebourck and his people, who were then worshipping in the basement of the yet unfinished "Salem Church," and proceeded on his way to St. John, N. B., where he was instructed to endeavour to settle some difficulties that had arisen in the congregation, on the departure of their pastor, Mr. Gallaway. Taking the coach to Windsor, in which he had as a fellow-traveller the Rev. Dr. Burns, of Toronto, they were detained there some hours by the tide, and formed the acquaintance of Judge Haliburton (author of "Sam Slick"), at whose house they spent a very pleasant morning. On reaching St. John, Mr. Wilkes addressed himself to his somewhat difficult task, and succeeded, the breach being healed, and the Rev. Charles Mackay being shortly after settled as their new pastor. Home was reached early in November.

"Through mercy (he writes), I found my family well, though the city had been visited by cholera. So far as I remember, all the members of my flock had escaped its ravages; but my friend Drummond, at Quebec, had been carried off by it, leaving his widow, sons, and daughters, desolate, though not destitute, and leaving the church suddenly pastorless. The Rev. A. C. Geikie was soon sent there, but remained for only a short period, when he went to Australia."

CHAPTER X.

1849-1862.

THE success which had attended Mr. Wilkes' mission to Britain greatly relieved the anxieties of his people, and he was received, on his return home, with much enthusiasm and very heartily thanked for his services. Very wisely, he had all his accounts properly audited by the trustees, so preventing the possibility of disputes and suspicions, which sometimes have arisen in such cases; and in the month of December, the mortgage that had been such a nightmare to them was cancelled. The congregations had somewhat diminished in consequence of a large number of removals to the West; but otherwise the interests of the church had been so carefully looked after by the deacons, that the injury resulting from the pastor's long absence was much less than might have been expected. Mr. Henry Vennor is specially named as having devoted much time and care to church matters while the pastor was from home. The names of Mr. T. M. Taylor and Mr. John Dougall also occur several times, in memoranda relating to this period, as most ardent and liberal supporters of all the pastor's efforts to be useful; and notably by the publication of a number of sermons in pamphlet form, or in the columns of the *Montreal Witness*, at their own expense. Among these may be named the annual sermon in behalf of the French Canadian Missionary Society, on "Seeking the good of our Country," of which 10,000 copies were circulated in 1850; a discourse addressed to the Jews, on "Jesus the Divine Messiah;" two sermons thrown into tract form on "Unbelief the Destroyer," and "Prayer a real Power;" and a discourse on "Knowing the time," (Rom. xiii. 11.) in 1853.

In 1850, an agitation was commenced for the liberalizing of

McGill University, which, like "King's College," in Toronto, had been controlled and monopolized by the authorities of the Episcopal Church. Public meetings were held, and equal rights demanded for all denominations in the enjoyment of its educational advantages, and as the result, in 1852, an amended charter was granted, under which the Governors were no longer to be appointed by the Crown, but were to be chosen and representative of the several Protestant denominations of the Province. Mr. Christopher Dunkin and Mr. Andrew Robertson were the first representatives of the Congregational Body, on the new governing Board. The change effected was not only a change in the interests of justice, but of education also, since McGill could never have attained its present eminence, nor done the noble work it has done, under the old regime.

"Early in August (Mr. Wilkes says), in compliance with the request of the 'Society for Religious Enquiry of the University of Vermont,' I went to Burlington, and delivered an address at the annual Commencement, on 'The Age and Theology,' which was published with the rest of the proceedings on the occasion. To my surprise, and without any solicitation on my part, or that of my friends, so far as I know, the Corporate Body of the University conferred on me the degree of D.D. I remember a Scottish friend, on my return, who was strongly prejudiced against our cousins across the line, said to me, 'Stick to your Scotch M.A.' ..... The custom of our McGill, however, has established the use of the M.A. as well as the D.D. in their Calendars. And certainly the University of Vermont is a School of learning of which any graduate may be proud."

Subsequently—in March 1870,—the degree of LL.D. was conferred upon him by McGill University.

In the latter part of September, the home was again desolated by the death of his wife. Her health had been a source of some anxiety for several years past, and some weeks were spent every summer at Highgate or Alburgh Springs, without any decided benefit. Now, however, serious illness set in, which in spite of the best medical skill, and the tenderest care and nursing, carried her off after three weeks of great suffering. "She passed quietly away," is the fitting record of the termin-

ation of an unobtrusive but useful Christian life. On her death, Dr. Wilkes (as we shall henceforth speak of him) removed to another house, in Bleury Street, the care of which, and of the three children, devolved upon a step-daughter. Domestic changes, however, terminated this arrangement, and in 1852 he married Cybella, eldest daughter of J. J. Day, Esq., advocate, of Montreal.

It was the practice of the church, under the guidance of the pastor and deacons, every winter to set apart one or more days for special devotion. These were often followed by a series of meetings of an evangelistic character, conducted by the pastor, and assisted by his people, with a view to awakening the careless, and bringing to decision any who might be halting and wavering. Several such days were observed in the early part of 1851; and in April, two weeks of special services were held with happy results. Twenty-four persons were shortly after admitted to fellowship, on profession of their faith, and a general impetus was given to all the spiritual activities of the church. Relieved now, somewhat, of the necessity of so frequent a visitation of the churches, by the assistance rendered by younger brethren, and the formation of the Missionary Society, which took charge of many of the newer stations, Dr. Wilkes was able to give a much larger share of his time and energies to pastoral work, for which he was so eminently fitted. Steady, healthy progress was the result. It was not all due, indeed, to the labours of the pastor, and no one was more ready than he to acknowledge it, for he was surrounded by a band of workers, and by Boards of Deacons and Managers, rarely equalled for loyalty and efficiency. Highly did he prize them. And yet they were largely of his own making and fashioning. He drew them around him, and inspired them by his own unselfishness and singleness of purpose, and under their united leadership the church, for many years, was very greatly prospered.

Among the pastoral settlements, at this period, effected

mainly through Dr. Wilkes' planning and correspondence, are those of the writer, at Brantford, to which he went by his advice and introduction, in December, 1852 · the Rev. Daniel Macallum, who accepted charge in the township of Warwick, about the same time; and the Rev. R. K. Black, who, a few months earlier, broke new ground in a very wide and needy field in the county of Lanark. The settlement of Mr. Black, under the blessing of God, led to most cheering and remarkable results. Early in the autumn of 1853, a meeting of Association was held at Middleville, where Mr. B. resided, at which Messrs. Roaf, Climie, Fenwick, and others were present. The preaching of the Word was attended with great power, and several of the visiting brethren were urgently requested by the young pastor to return and help him. Mr. Fenwick, of Kingston, went to his assistance early in November, and continued his labours in the neighbourhood for over five weeks. Beginning at Rosetta, Mr. Fenwick says,—

"The state of things at that place very much moved and delighted me. I preached on Thursday evening to the young converts, and on Sabbath at Lanark Village, when I proposed to hold a series of meetings there. The proposal was accepted. The brethren thought that it would be better to spend that week in Darling and at Rosetta, which I did. After the discourse at Darling one evening, upwards of twelve persons remained for conversation, under deep conviction of sin; several appeared to find the Saviour. My labours were not really commenced at the village until Friday evening, when there was a large attendance, and very great interest. On Sabbath the place was well filled, and the interest became more deep. On Tuesday evening, I asked those to remain behind, who wished to converse with me about their souls. Several remained. The number of inquirers increased every night, and we had to remain each night until eleven, twelve, and even one o'clock, with persons under deep distress of mind. It was moving to look around and see poor sinners weeping apart, abased under an oppressive sense of guilt and unworthiness, yet still, prisoners of hope. I have spoken in one night to upwards of thirty persons under deep concern. Everything was quiet and orderly,—there was excitement, but it was the excitement of truth. ..... The only expressions of distress were the tear and the sigh, and 'What must I do to be saved?' ..... I continued in this work, so interesting and delightful, until Sab-

bath the 18th December, when with and amidst tears, I had to take my leave of this dear people. Upwards of 120 souls are hopefully brought to the Saviour; amongst the converts are some of the most influential of the village. Six members of the church, under the pastoral care of our beloved brother Black, resided at the village. These were formed into a distinct church, and, before I left, the church numbered 60 members; 12 have been added since." ....

The Rev. John Climie, then of Bowmanville, afterwards of Belleville, also rendered valuable assistance in the work, as did also the Rev. John Fraser, pastor, at that time, of the Brockville church, who, carrying home with him on his return some of the sacred fire, kindled a similar flame in his own congregation, with blessed though much less extended results. Mr. Black, reporting with respect to this remarkable work next spring, says,—

"When I reported to the Society in April last, the church numbered 28. Since then one has died, six have been dismissed to form a church in the village of Lanark, and 163 have been received into fellowship, making our present membership 184. It is estimated that in connection with the blessed work of grace enjoyed here since last October, 350 have experienced a saving change, through the instrumentality of our brethren who have been labouring here."

Anxious to see something of this wonderful religious awakening, which continued all through the autumn and winter of 1853-4, Dr. Wilkes made arrangements, in February, to visit the locality, at the same time taking in, in going or returning, all the churches lying, in any sense, *en route* to this interesting field. Referring to this visit, he says,—

"I spent the Sunday and several days there. .... The scene at Lanark was one of deep interest. At Middleville the house was crowded—the communicants occupying one side, and the non-communicants the other, the former being most numerous. There was deep solemnity in listening to the Word of Life, and also at the communion service. .... The churches continue in a fair measure of vigour."

The time had now come when it was felt to be desirable to consolidate our denominational movements, and henceforth to know no East or West in our Union or Missionary operations.

Up to this time we had had two Congregational Unions, having two distinct Canadian Home Missions in connection with them. In addition to which, the Colonial Missionary Society was supporting, side by side with them, a number of our Canadian pastors, who were not only better paid, but paid with more promptness and regularity, than their brethren connected with the Home organizations. These distinctions were felt to be a source of weakness and irritation, and it was resolved, if possible, once and forever to remove them. The way for this had, in part, been prepared by the uniting of the Theological Academies, and the dropping of the Agency plan in Western Canada; in part also, by the greater facilities of travel which the country now afforded.

The initiative in this movement was taken by the Eastern Canada Union, which made overtures for amalgamation with its sister organization in the West, at its annual meeting in Toronto, in June, 1853. The details of the negotiations which followed, need not be given here.* They were crowned with success, however, both in regard to the Unions and the Missionary Societies, and from the date just named, we had but one Home Mission †—"the Canada Congregational Missionary Society;" and from October of that same year, only one Union,—"the Congregational Union of Canada," more recently "of Ontario and Quebec." These changes met with Dr. Wilkes' full concurrence, and on the completion of the new Missionary organization, he was chosen General Secretary-Treasurer, and so continued from year to year, until 1883, when, at his own request, he was relieved, and was appointed Honorary Secretary.

The Colonial Society, however, which had hitherto made the grants themselves, acting always on the representations of their Agents, or their Western Agency Committee, naturally

* They will be found in the *Canadian Congregational Year Book* for 1877-78, page 23.

† This applies only to Ontario and Quebec: the Maritime Provinces have a separate Union, and at times have had a distinct Missionary Society.

felt much difficulty in handing over the funds entrusted to them, to the absolute control of a Committee whose members were personally unknown to them, however good and wise they might believe them to be. They, therefore, insisted that there should be sent to them every year by the Secretary, a schedule of all the grants recommended by the General Committee, with a more or less detailed statement of the grounds of their action, so that they, in England, might vote or modify the grants as they saw proper. The Canadian Committee, on the other hand, felt the very same difficulty, less only in degree, in handing over moneys contributed in this country, to the absolute controul of their loved and honoured English brethren, who, they were sure, did not understand Canada. And it was finally agreed on our part, that the General Committee should, as far as practicable, be composed of pastors and delegates of self-supported churches; and on their part, that unless they, in London, modified or vetoed any grant within three months, it should stand as recommended. "This arrangement," notes Dr. Wilkes, "was one of exceeding convenience to us in Canada. I drew every quarter for whatever amount was not supplied by the contributions in the country itself, so that the payments were always punctually made, and all needful advances were made in England. This plan was continued until 1865 when it was somewhat modified." Rather *too* convenient, we are disposed to add, and lacking in proper healthy stimulus, as it encouraged any who were so disposed to spare themselves, since their rich brethren in England stood ready to supply their shortcomings! The Colonial Committee, however, were persuaded better things of us, and accepted their scheme, the Secretary remarking, in his letter announcing their decision, that they did so the more readily as it was to be wrought out under the immediate supervision of their personal friend and former agent, Dr. Wilkes.

It was during this important meeting of the Western Union in Toronto, which Dr. Wilkes was attending as a delegate from

the East, that the famous Gavazzi riots occurred in Montreal, and to which he has the following reference.

"An attempt had been made to shut Gavazzi out of every public building, and thus prevent him from lecturing. The trustees of Zion church opened ours to him. It was densely crowded, and without the consent of the church authorities, there were present a band of armed defenders of the right of free speech. The crowd outside assailed the door, using violence and firing, when the armed men within rushed out, and drove them back. It so occurred, very unfortunately, that the resident troops had been changed that very day, one regiment going away, and another entering. One or two companies of the new regiment were called out by the Mayor, and took up their position in front of the church, one party facing the hill and the other the city. It is said that on the audience leaving the church, the Mayor ordered the troops to fire. .... It is supposed by others, that as the officers of the two regiments had been dining and wine-drinking together, there was some lack of sobriety on the occasion. The facts have never been fully ascertained, long and careful investigation having failed to fix the blame upon the proper parties. What we do know is, that while the audience leaving the church were going quietly up the hill, and the crowd below, in Radegonde Street were, though noisy, not fighting, the troops fired in both directions, killing several, and maiming others for life."

The next summer witnessed the first meeting of the united Congregational Unions, which assembled in Montreal under the presidency of the Rev. William Clarke, with the Rev. K. M. Fenwick as Secretary. At one of its sessions Dr. Wilkes read a paper, prepared by request of the Committee of the Union, on the Scriptural qualifications for church membership, and of which ten thousand copies were afterwards printed and circulated, under the title of "Purity of Communion." The tract is a plea for "restriction of the membership of the church to those who give credible evidence of a true faith in Christ, and of being born again of the Holy Spirit." This, of course, has always been held to be one of the cardinal principles of the denomination both in England and in America. Dr. Wilkes says, with reference to it,—

"I retain, after twenty-five years, my conviction that the churches can-

not be the power for good which the Lord designs they should be, unless they are thus constituted. I fear that during the intervening period some looseness has crept into the practice of the churches, to their great and abiding injury."

We have hesitated somewhat about quoting this last remark, since its author is no longer with us to explain, or to defend it. Probably he had reference to some individual instances of unfaithfulness in the application of the principle, which he wished to use as a warning, and yet purposely generalized to avoid giving offence. But we are bound in justice to the churches to say that, although methods vary, perhaps more than formerly, in the application of the principle, we see no evidence of any growing "looseness" in regard to the principle itself. Considerable change has undoubtedly taken place, of late years, in our views as to what constitutes "credible evidence of a true faith in Christ;" and also as to the best way of ascertaining the fitness of an applicant for membership, and certifying the church in relation thereto, that it may vote intelligently when the case comes before it. But the Congregational churches of Canada are a unit in requiring not Scriptural knowledge and morality, nor a "*desire*," only, "to flee from the wrath to come," nor yet submission to any particular mode of confessing Christ, but always, and only, what appears to them sufficient evidence of faith and godliness. And they do so because they believe their Divine Master and Lord requires neither less nor more, "I am the Door: by *Me* if any man enter in, he shall be saved, and shall go in and out, and find pasture." *

In 1850, several years previous to the amalgamation of the Missionary Societies, the Society in Western Canada had commenced a Mission among the Indians at Colpoy's Bay. In 1851, the Rev. Ludwick Kribs, the first alumnus of our Western Theological Institute, feeling drawn to the work among these neglected aborigines, resigned his charge in Stouffville,

* John x, 9.

and settled at Owen Sound, where, for several years, he ministered to a little congregation of white people, and generally superintended and assisted in the work among the Indians. The Mission gradually extended its operations, establishing a little church of native converts at Saugeen, in the County of Bruce, and subsequently planting its missionaries and teachers on the north shore of the Georgian Bay. On the amalgamation of our Missionary Societies, it was adopted as part of our Canadian work. But the Colonial Society having intimated its desire that the Mission should be carried on by other agencies, in 1856 it was detached from our general work, and placed in charge of the Middle District Committee, and so continued until the organization of our Indian Missionary Society, in 1860. For a number of years, it received, through Dr. Wilkes, an annual grant from the Boston Society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians. By and by that failed it. It struggled on, however, through various vicissitudes, the details of which must be sought elsewhere, sowing the seed of the Kingdom, some, perhaps, in stony places, but some certainly in good ground, until, in 1884, it ceased to report itself. The little Indian church in Saugeen, however, still lives.*

Affectionate reference is made, in memoranda relating to this period, to the death of two much loved friends—the Rev. Dr. Wardlaw, of Glasgow, his former tutor, who passed peacefully away in December, 1853; and the Rev. Richard Miles, of Cowansville, who died very suddenly early in 1855. Memorial sermons were preached on both occasions. Of the latter Dr. Wilkes says,—

"In March, my beloved friend Miles died at Cowansville in a moment. He had preached on the Sunday twice. The evening service was closed by singing the hymn beginning

"Jerusalem, my happy home."

He exhibited great delight and triumph in singing it, moving his hand up and down on the side of the pulpit as he sang. On Monday night he re-

* See a brief sketch of the Society in the *Year Book* for 1876-77, page 20.

tired, feeling about as usual, hot water being always kept in readiness for fomentation. At midnight he awoke with pain in the region of the heart, and Mrs. Miles arose, as she had often done, to apply hot flannels. But he turned and said, 'Kiss me, I am going,' fell back, and passed away! I went out to his funeral, which was conducted, first at Cowansville, and then went in procession to Abbotsford, where, with another service, we buried him. ..... Mrs. Miles afterwards removed to Granby, where one of her sons still lives."

Less than a year ago—in November, 1886—this mother in Israel sank to rest in her 90th year. Her youngest son, Thomas, follows in his father's footsteps, as the pastor of a Congregational church, in Merrimac, Mass.

The commercial distress in England, growing out of the Crimean War, affected for a while, very seriously, the income of the Colonial Society, and threatened disaster to some of our newer Canadian enterprises. The Committee in England, embarrassed by a debt of £1300, which showed no sign of diminution, began to hesitate about accepting any more of Dr. Wilkes' bills of exchange, and he had, in consequence, to press very earnestly upon the churches the necessity of doing with less help, and raising a larger proportion of their pastor's salaries themselves. This, unhappily, often had the effect of unsettling the minister, upon whom the pressure chiefly bore, and some of our most energetic and successful men, chafing under the enforced action of the Committee, resigned their charges, and went to the wider field offered them in the United States.

An effort made at this time to establish a church in Windsor, Ont., failed largely on this account. Mr. James Dougall and a few earnest Congregationalists, who lived in that place, but worshipped with churches in Detroit,—just across the river—sought organization into a Christian church, and on obtaining the promise of assistance from the Missionary Society, invited the Rev. James Porter to become their pastor, which he did. A neat church edifice was erected at a cost of $700, and everything gave promise of a vigorous and success-

ful enterprise, when the crisis arrived to which reference has just been made. Mr. Porter, too sensitive, perhaps, shrank from being a burden upon the Society, and resigned his charge, and no way being found at the time of supplying his place, the people in discouragement, handed over the property to the Methodists, and disbanded. It should be mentioned, perhaps, that of £1923 currency expended on our Canadian Missions in 1855, £1270 was received from the Society in England.

Still it was felt that such a sum, large as it was, was utterly inadequate to our needs, and altogether below the amount that the more than two thousand British churches ought to give us. At the meeting of the Union in Hamilton, therefore, in 1856, Dr. Wilkes and the Rev. W. F. Clarke were appointed a delegation "to the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and the Colonial Missionary Society, and through them to the British churches, with a view to laying the condition and difficulties of Canadian Congregationalism before them." But the delegation never fulfilled the appointment, the Secretary of the Colonial Committee, Mr. James, having advised the postponement of the visit, in consequence of the presence in England of the Rev. Mr. Poore, who was just then urging the claims of Australia. The reply was in some sense a typical one. The very large emigration to those Southern Colonies, of British Congregationalists, seems always to have been regarded as establishing a first claim upon the help of the British churches. From a Canadian point of view, however, the very opposite conclusion may be reached. Our need of help arises chiefly from the *paucity* of the emigration to our shores of our own people, ecclesiastically considered: had we more of them, we should be proportionally better able to look after them.

As a young pastor, who had been led first into the church, and then into the ministry by Dr. Wilkes, the writer was in the habit of consulting him, as a son does a father, whenever questions came before him which he felt incompetent to

decide, or in regard to which, at least, he desired advice from one of more experience than himself. The following extracts from letters received under such circumstances will be read with interest, and may be helpful to other young pastors in similar perplexities. The first was in reply to a letter asking advice respecting the election of deacons.

Montreal, September, 1855.

"..... Your father handed me your's of 3rd inst. this afternoon. I would recommend the election of *three* new deacons instead of *one*. Should one of them be somewhat illiterate, and yet thoroughly devout and earnest, you will not find it an objection. His want of culture, being only one in four, does not injure the diaconate; and then, he belongs to a class always somewhat numerous in a church, which it is well to have represented. .....

My plan of action is 1st. To call the attention of the Church to their want, to preach on the subject, and ask them to resolve that they will elect the number of deacons deemed best. 2nd. They having resolved upon the number, I explain that while the suffrage of the people is a matter of principle, the mode of its exercise is not, and therefore they have to determine in what manner they will elect. We have found the plan of ballot to work well, *without nomination*. .... I give them a month to hand in their ballot, and am myself the Teller. I always insist that parties elected must not decline. 3rd. We call a special Prayer Meeting, but on the usual evening of the week, at which the newly-elected deacons are addressed and ordained. This fact is announced on the Sabbath Day. 4th. Our deacons meet me monthly—lately they have spent together one evening every week. The consultations and devotional meetings of persons in office are of great value to themselves and the church.

These are the points on which you desire information. There is danger of persons being elected because of their station; this can only be met by clear and solemn instruction. ...."

The second is his answer to a letter from the writer, requesting advice regarding the acceptance of a call to another pastoral charge, which it was understood would be immediately voted, if he would consent to his name being put before the church as a candidate. The correspondence was "confidential" at the time.

Montreal, January, 1856.

".... Let me give you frankly my thoughts on the other matter, which so far as I am concerned, shall be secret.

1. The practice of frequent and sudden removals among the brotherhood of the West, has been fraught with most injurious consequences. Our ministry loses weight and influence thereby, descending to the level of a Methodist itinerancy.

2. Unless there be some indication *within* a man's tent that the Master wishes him to strike it, he should be very slow indeed, to suppose himself called to do so. And if the interior of that tent prospers, surely the Pillar of cloud and fire does not rise and say 'go forward!' You were obviously sent to Brantford, not as a temporary labourer, but as a *Pastor* of the flock, and everything has concurred to prove that you were sent there of God. Everything, moreover, so far as I know, which indicated the Divine Will that you should *go* there, indicates that you should *remain*.

3. The movement in ——— so sudden, of such doubtful propriety, and of such doubtful results, does not, so far as I can judge, present a call. Our brother C. acts with great disinterestedness, but in this case, surely, with some rashness. ..... Now, here is the question,—Ought a happy and prosperous pastoral relation to be dissolved, in order to aid in carrying out a plan of problematical propriety, and of extremely doubtful success? I think not."....

The advice was asked in a time of much discouragement, and with some leanings towards a change of pastorate. But the counsel given was acted upon, and—was it the Lord's gracious token of approval?—the very next month, a remarkable religious awakening began in Brantford, which resulted in more than doubling the membership of the church.

Long experience in the pastorate of Zion Church, as well as in Edinburgh previously, both of them large and important charges, gave to Dr. Wilkes, by common consent, a kind of right to speak *ex cathedrâ*, on all matters affecting the order and management of the churches. He was, in no improper sense, our "unmitred bishop." Not that he assumed the position or authority which such a term implies, for nothing was farther from his thoughts; but all readily accorded it to him as the *primus inter pares* of the Congregational brotherhood.

Desiring to avail themselves of his practical acquaintance with church work, the Union, in 1857, requested him to pre-

sent his views and experiences on these subjects, in the form of a tract, which he did, at the meeting in Brantford, the following year. This was felt to be so valuable, and so much needed, that he was then asked to enlarge it, and publish it, the Union, of course, assuming the pecuniary responsibility; and it was accordingly issued under the title of "The Internal Administration of the Churches," of which several thousands of copies were put in circulation. It has, without doubt, been of great service to the denomination.

Returning to the "jottings," we copy the following entries:

"The Good Friday of 1856, was observed by the church as a day of special devotion, and a general Thanksgiving for freedom from disease, and for the return of peace, and the Rev. (now Dr.) Donald Fraser preached in Zion Church on the occasion.*..... This summer, a new organ was presented to the church by a few friends, a recess being made in the rear wall of the building for its reception. My stipend this year was made £400, or $1600. ..... The Rev. Archibald Duff came out from Howick, Scotland, in the autumn of this year, and settled in Cowansville. ..... The year 1857 was one of severe commercial depression all over this continent. The overthrow of mercantile houses in New York was simply fearful. The list of names was appalling. We lived through it, however, and the next year matters began to revive. This was the year of the Indian Mutiny, and, as in the year of the Crimean War, so in this, frequent references were made in my sermons to the sad series of passing events. It is worthy of note also, that in this very year of commercial disaster, at the Congregational Union meeting, in our church in June, there was inaugurated by Zion Church, on behalf of the Denomination, 'The Congregational Ministers' Widows' and Orphans' Fund' (now called the 'Cong. Provident Fund'), which has since grown to considerable dimensions, and has been for many years helping the widow and the fatherless." †

In February, I visited Lanark, to assist at the dedication of the very nice new church-building, just erected in that village. There was a

* The reference is to the removal of the cholera, and the termination of the Russian War.

† "Honour to whom honour." The Act of Incorporation afterwards obtained, gives the names of its promoters as "the Rev. Henry Wilkes, Richard Holland, Theodore Lyman, William Moodie, P. W. Wood, William Learmont, Alfred Savage, and others."

blessed revival in progress at the time. Sixteen inquirers remained for conversation after the evening service."

Dr. Wilkes' early business training and knowledge of book-keeping, often enabled him to render valuable service to the churches in cases—unhappily too frequent—in which trouble arose out of ill-kept accounts.

There had been some trouble at Quebec of this nature, arising out of confusion in the statement presented by Mr. Heudebourck, the late pastor, of moneys collected by him for church improvements. Mr. Powis, who had just taken charge, and was anxious to have the difficulty adjusted, had got the matter referred to Dr. Wilkes, who says,—

"I visited Quebec, and disentangled the accounts, finding all correct, though objecting to the course of action adopted.

In June, I received an important communication from the Committee in London, stating the very unsatisfactory condition of things in Nova Scotia, and asking me to choose some competent lay-brother to accompany me, and to visit the churches, attend the meetings of the Congregational Union in Liverpool, N. S., and thoroughly investigate the whole matter. Certain heads of inquiry were laid down for our guidance. I replied that such a mission was one of extreme delicacy, which, of course, I should be far from choosing, but that I would not say 'nay' to a Society which I had served from its inauguration. Mr. Wilson, pastor of the Yarmouth church, who had been attending our Union, was ready to accompany the deputation. I chose Mr. T. M. Taylor, one of our deacons, to assist me. ..... A Report of our visit, and the result of our investigations, consisting of 41 pp. quarto, closely written, which I prepared and Mr. Taylor signed with me, was sent to England. ..... The Committee expressed gratitude for the thoroughness of our investigation, and adopted our recommendation, which was to make Nova Scotia and New Brunswick one of the "Districts" of our work, with its own local Committee, as in the case of the other Districts. This arrangement, which has proved thoroughly successful, was continued until 1879, when it was deemed no longer necessary." *

* It has since been renewed—in 1884—at the request of the brethren of the Maritime Provinces.

One incidental result of this visit is referred to with great satisfaction,—a satisfaction which all our churches, at least in Quebec and Ontario, must share:

"It secured for us the eminently useful Rev. (now Dr.) George Cornish, then teaching classes in Halifax, as he had done at Gorham College, Liverpool, prior to its destruction by fire. He had also been pastor of the church at Milton. On my return home, one of the Governors of McGill College consulted me about a successor to Dr. Benjamin Davies in the Classical chair. I introduced the name of Cornish, or some one else had done so, and he asked me concerning him, and this led to his removal to Montreal. He has done us excellent service....."

About Christmas time, Dr. Wilkes was summoned to Brantford, to the death-bed of his mother, who, it was supposed, would hardly see the close of the year.

"Most beautiful was all her dying testimony and conversation. Her physician was profoundly impressed by her utterances. She had no fear. ..... I remained with her as long as I could, and then bade her farewell. ..... Blessed, precious mother! True saint! We hope to meet again! She passed away some ten days after I left her."....

Her pastor's estimate of her worth and influence has already been given, in a previous reference to her. "Let her own works praise her in the gates."

Sorrows, it is said, seldom come singly: it proved so in this case. The unfortunate acceptance of a draft for £1250, in favour of one of his brothers, upon the assurance that when due, money would be provided with which to meet it, plunged him into difficulties and embarrassments, extending over a period of thirteen years. It was done under the impulse of a father's oft repeated injunction, "Help one another," and done in haste; a telegram was waiting his reply. The draft was accepted; the brother's pledge to meet it when due was not fulfilled; and had it not been for the kindness of friends in Montreal in satisfying the judgment, everything he possessed would have been sold by the sheriff. The amount of interest annually paid on the loan was a heavy drain on his resources, and the balance of debt was only wiped out when, on his

retirement from the active pastorate, in 1871, the church presented him with the purse of $1250 with which it was done. "It was truly a heavy affliction," he says, "and my experience should be a warning to all who may have access to these jottings."

Death was again invading his own family. In July, 1855, a little son of nine months, whom they had taken with them to Portland, had died there the very night of their arrival, and the sorrowing father had to return next day to Montreal, to lay him away in Mount Royal Cemetery. Now, again, in August, 1858, a little daughter, of about the same age, "died one early morning, just as a bird on a neighbouring tree began its morning song." The illness and death so affected Mrs. Wilkes, that it was found necessary to spend some weeks among the White Mountains. The visit was much enjoyed, and was, no doubt, beneficial for the time, but already Dr. Wilkes seems to have felt the dark shadow of a coming sorrow falling upon him.

The extension of our field of Missionary operations so as to embrace the Provinces "down by the sea," necessarily very much increased the volume of correspondence, both with the churches, and with the Committee in England. It was, therefore, decided, at the annual meeting of the Society, in 1858, to divide the labour, for which purpose the Rev. K. M. Fenwick was appointed Home Secretary, and all correspondence with the churches and their pastors devolved upon him, while Dr. Wilkes continued to conduct that with the Colonial Committee, as formerly. This, it is noted, "was a great relief, and Mr. Fenwick conducted matters with much efficiency for some years." The fact is also noted that this year, "the grants were for the first time made in *Dollars*."

Reference is made in Dr. Wilkes' correspondence this summer, to the arrival of the Rev. Thomas Pullar, from Scotland, and the hope is expressed that he may be induced to accept the charge of the church in St. John, N. B. But about the

same time, an invitation to visit Hamilton—then vacant by the removal of Mr. Ebbs to Paris—turned his steps in that direction, and led to his settlement in that city, where, after a laborious and successful ministry of nearly fifteen years, he died in February, 1873. An obituary in the *Independent* for March, says,—

"During his connection with the church in Hamilton, there has been great progress made in numbers and influence. ..... A new place of worship has been erected, and the spiritual and material condition of the church has been healthy and satisfactory. Mr. Pullar was a man of large sympathies, and though his sense of duty and stern adherence to principle, often brought him into conflict with others, and made him enemies, still he was most unselfish in all his public and private acts. He had the welfare of the community deeply at heart, and a more faithful pastor and preacher could not be found. ..... By request of the church, Dr. Wilkes preached a memorial sermon in Hamilton, on March 2nd, to an overflowing audience." *

A memorandum also found in the correspondence dated June, 1858, refers to Ottawa as commended to the attention of the District Committee, "if the seat of Government should be removed thither." That question was definitely settled by an order of the Queen's Privy Council, of August 7th, in the same summer, but it was not till the General Committee met in June, 1859, that any decided steps were taken to establish a church in the new Capital. At that meeting, the Rev. Joseph Elliot, then at Hawkesbury, was asked to undertake the mission, which he did, entering upon his work on the 17th July. "The few Congregationalists in the city nobly rallied around him," and on the 10th March, 1860, a church was formed. The movement involved a heavy outlay of Missionary money, for a number of years, but the Colonial Society, no less than our own, felt it to be "of great importance that our principles should have expression in the political centre of the country, and that a spiritual home should be provided for persons of our faith who may be attracted to the seat of Government."

* See *Canadian Independent*, March and April, 1873.

A visit of the Rev. Dr. Duff, of the Free Church Mission in India, about this time, very greatly interested Canadians of all denominations, in the Foreign work, and led to some important results. The meeting in Montreal was held in the Methodist church, St. James Street, which was packed to the doors, by eager multitudes who listened to his address of nearly three hours in length, with intense interest. Dr. Wilkes says,—

"He aroused us all. We had a public breakfast the next morning with him, and felt that something must be done. We met and conferred, but I was the only minister prepared to form a Society on a catholic basis. Even my dear friend, Dr. Taylor, insisted on denominational action. The Society was formed, however, on the broad basis, and laymen of the various types of Presbyterianism, and others, joined our ranks. ..... We talked of beginning a mission in Arabia or Mongolia, just as soon as there should arise some one who should offer himself for either of these fields. Meanwhile we contributed to existing missions in Turkey and in India. Afterwards, however, we inaugurated a mission on the coast of Labrador."

But as Labrador was not, strictly speaking, a *foreign* field, and as the way did not then seem open for beginning a new mission, on purely heathen ground, the "Foreign" aspect of its work was laid aside, and the name of the Society changed to that of the "Labrador Mission." Ultimately the work thus commenced, fell into the hands of the Ladies' Missionary Association of Zion church.

In the year 1859 occurred the unfortunate *contretemps* connected with the attempt to establish a mission in Victoria, British Columbia. The gold found along the Fraser River had created great excitement, and had raised expectations in regard to the future of that colony, which thus far, at least, have never been realized. But with a zeal worthy of a better result, the Colonial Society resolved on making a commencement in that far-off land, by what might have been foreseen to be, and certainly proved to be, a most unwise and dangerous course, viz., sending one minister direct from England, and

requesting our Committee to send another from Canada. The British missionary was the Rev. Matthew McPhie, the Canadian, the Rev. W. F. Clarke. Meeting in Victoria in October, a hall was secured, and public service begun, the two ministers having arranged to preach for the present alternately. There being a considerable element of coloured people in the place, the question at once arose whether they were to be permitted to mix with "white folks," or were to be assigned to a "negro corner" in the house of God. Mr. Clarke took true British and Bible ground, and resolved that there should be no distinction on account of colour: Mr. McPhie took the then common American ground, as he mildly expressed it,—"the preference to be unmixed, during religious service, with the African element." And finding Mr. Clarke more ready "to strike his tent than change his policy," he set up an opposition service in another hall! The result was the return of Mr. Clarke and family to Canada, and such a blow to Congregationalism in Victoria, that we have not had courage to attempt a renewal of the effort for thirty years. Dr. Wilkes thus expressed himself to the Secretary of the Colonial Committee, on the subject, in December,—

"I have received from Hamilton, for transmission to you, certain resolutions anent the unfortunate position of matters in Victoria, which are enclosed. I have been deeply grieved at such an unhappy commencement of your work in that Colony. Mr. Clarke's circular has, of course, been sent to you. We all feel that he is right in principle, and ought to be sustained. ..... The course of his co-adjutor imperils the whole cause."

In a subsequent reference he thinks "Clarke was rash and injudicious," but no doubt is expressed as to the rectitude of the principle upon which he acted.

A sentence in one of his letters on this unfortunate affair,—"I *would* that there were some tried English Congregationalists in Victoria,"—is thus commented on.

"This seems almost necessary to any hopeful movement, in any of the Colonies. We have usually found that unless we had a nucleus of tried

Congregationalists in a place, our introduction of the Gospel *first*, has not prevented others from crowding us out, if they could; and usually they have had a powerful lever to work with, if the people we had gathered together had been formerly Presbyterians or Methodists. ..... This has been the history of a considerable number of our evangelistic efforts, particularly in Ontario. We have gone in first among a neglected people; they have gladly rallied round the faithful messenger of the Cross; we have heard of good congregations, excellent Sabbath Schools, and all hopeful signs; our missionary funds have been expended in aid; a place of worship has been erected,—and other bodies enter in, to take away our people, and leave us with so few that we have to close, and mourn over efforts frustrated by the prevailing denominational zeal!"

One of our pioneer missionaries was accustomed to say, that he had only to begin a service in a neglected neighbourhood, and get a nice little congregation together, and in a little while there would be—to quote his homely phrase—"as many preachers there as he could shake a stick at!" Let us hope things are better now.

Dr. Wilkes was now at the full tide of his strength, and of his popularity. A number of sermons, preached at this period, in the ordinary course of his ministry, were regarded as of so high an order of merit, as to be published by his friends: one on "Using the world without abusing it:" another, on "Man's dominion over the earth, injured and restored:" a third entitled "The Name which is above every name," and others. His brethren had honoured him the previous year by electing him Chairman of the Union, and, according to the custom of that day, he delivered this year, on retiring, the annual Address from the Chair.* The church under his care was increasing in numbers and influence, and the Lord was blessing his ministry to the conversion of sinners. Little, probably, did his people know through what deep waters he was passing while he was being made so helpful to them. He says,—

"The year 1860 was one of the most anxious, distressing, sad years of my life, yet one of incessant work, nevertheless, and equally of strength

* See *Canadian Independent* for July, 1860.

given to me of my Father in heaven. A sick and dying wife, much beloved, young children needing constant care, pecuniary resources extremely limited, a large church and congregation to shepherd and teach, our missions throughout the land to foster, involving constant perplexity and anxiety,—I look back upon it with wonder, and with admiring gratitude to God who has enabled me to get through it all, without loss of health and without undue depression of spirits. Herein was the kindness and grace of God."

On Good Friday, just as he was about to leave the house to conduct a special service held that day, his wife was seized with violent hœmorrhage of the lungs, and for weeks she lay hovering between life and death. Recovering somewhat from this attack, she was taken by her husband, first to Gorham, and afterwards to the Green Mountains, for change of air, where she was receiving much benefit, when they were suddenly called home by the death of their "beautiful Fanny," of thirteen months. The shock of this new bereavement, followed almost immediately by the sudden death of her trusted medical attendant, Dr. Holmes, had a most depressing effect upon her, and she gradually grew weaker till she passed peacefully away on the 6th January, 1861, beloved and deeply regretted by all.

With the increasing strength and financial ability of the church, renewed efforts were put forth in the direction of city evangelization. A mission was commenced in St. Joseph Street, of which Mr. John Gray was put in charge, his salary being paid the first year, by two of the members of Zion Church. A Sunday School of nearly a hundred scholars was gathered, and the outlook for a second Congregational church was, for a while, most promising, but,—

"Our Presbyterian friends stepped in: a wealthy member of that denomination erected St. Joseph Street Presbyterian Church, and, of course, our mission was at an end, and we withdrew."

One cannot repress the exclamation,—What an accommodating, peace-loving people we are!

There was long and anxious discussion of our missionary

policy, and of our relations to the Colonial Society, at the Annual meetings in 1861, arising out of a communication from the English Committee, in which a fear is expressed lest their assistance should "degenerate into an endowment incubus," in its influence on the churches. They therefore suggested for our inquiry "whether certain stations which afforded no prospect of self-sustentation might not be relinquished, as was often done in connection with Home Missions in England; whether lay-preaching agency might not be effectively employed in other cases, at no cost to missionary funds; and whether some principle of a 'sliding scale,' such as had been successful in Australia, might not be introduced with good effect into Canada." Dr. Wilkes supplemented their communication by an able and discriminating paper in which, while he presented the case "from the Blomfield Street point of view," he pointed out wherein the argument from Australia failed to apply to Canada. At the same time he frankly says, "we cannot feel surprised, that looking over our schedules and finding names and stations there for ten, fifteen, and more than twenty years, they should demur to the continuance of this state of things, and call upon us to devise, and to apply some remedy." A kindly but vigorous reply was sent by the Union to the Committee in London, and a resolution was adopted, asking Dr. Wilkes and the Rev. F. H. Marling to visit England, as a delegation from the Canadian churches, in the hope that in free conference with them, they might "come to a full understanding on all matters of mutual concern."

This resolution having been brought before their respective churches, Bond Street, Toronto, concurred, and Mr. Marling sailed from Quebec in the "Great Eastern," August 6th, and fulfilled his commission; but Zion Church, to which the matter was left entirely by the pastor, declined the proposal, "in view of the large growth of the congregation, and the interesting spiritual condition of the church." The other member of

the deputation, however, seems to have represented the Union so well, and with such excellent results, that Mr. James, the Secretary of the Colonial Committee, wrote Dr. Wilkes on the 25th September. ..... "The object of your friend Mr. Marling's visit, will, I think, be completely accomplished. Though it has been very difficult, at this time of the year, to secure attendance on a Committee, yet he has now had an opportunity of stating his views to most of the more influential of our members. ..... The result is, after looking at the cases in your schedule in which no reduction is proposed, that the whole is adopted." *

The Rev. W. F. Clarke, whose action in the Vancouver Island affair had given much offence to the London Committee, visited England the same summer, and, having laid the whole case before them, the Committee accepted his explanations, so far, at least, as to declare their belief "that he acted with perfect conscientiousness," and that his course was due to "errors of judgment, rather than any intended discourtesy towards themselves."

On the 2nd October, Dr. Wilkes completed the twenty-fifth year of his ministry in Montreal, and the occasion was thought by his people to be a most fitting one on which to show their affection for him, and their appreciation of his work. A social meeting was held in the lecture-room of the church, which had been tastefully decorated with floral designs, ever-green wreaths, and fruits and flowers in profusion. Tea being over, the congregation assembled in the church, under the presidency of Mr. Henry Lyman, when, after a brief musical and devotional service, Mr. Vennor read an address to the pastor, and Mr. Dougall presented to him, in the name of the congregation, a solid silver pitcher and salver, with suitable inscription. Dr. Wilkes, in replying, warmly thanked his people for their cordial and loving address and testimonial, and briefly

* Mr. Marling's very full report will be found in the *Canadian Independent* for March, 1862.

reviewed the history of the church from its organization in 1832. A thanksgiving hymn and prayer brought the interesting service to a close. A more useful, if not more substantial or beautiful testimonial speedily followed, in the addition to the pastor's salary of a hundred pounds a year, which was made to date from the previous January. The membership of the church was now over three hundred.

The clouds are passing away, and the harassed and overworked pastor writes cheerfully again,—

"The church greatly prospered during 1862. ..... Fourteen were received on profession the first Sunday in April. The total for the year was forty-six, of whom twenty-three were on profession. For several years we have been receiving those into membership whom I had baptized in their infancy. The deacons reported that the building had become too strait for the congregation, and that new pews had been placed wherever there was available space. ..... The church came to the conclusion, without any prompting on my part, that I ought to have a furlough, and they commenced correspondence with brethren as to the matter of supply."

"A few members of the church" put over $600 into his hand, to pay expenses, besides giving a purse of £20 to his daughter, who was to accompany him. They run up to Hamilton to the marriage of his eldest son; he places his "motherless little girls" where they will be properly cared for; leases his house for the summer, and on the 21st of April, in company with Dr. Wickson, for many years Classical tutor in the Theological Academy, they sail from Portland, in the "Hibernia," for England.

CHAPTER XI.

1862–1863.

THIRTEEN years had passed since the previous visit to the old land, and Dr. Wilkes looked forward to this one with very mingled feelings of delight and sadness.

In a letter addressed to Mr. James, Secretary of the Colonial Society, February, 1862, he says,—

"I am delighted with the idea of seeing you and dear Mr. Binney, and other friends, but alas! I remember the many blanks. ..... Many of my own relatives in Birmingham have passed away since then, add also that valued father and friend your brother. Dr. Wardlaw, too, and Algernon Wells, with whom we were wont to take sweet counsel! The deaths you mention are of brethren most of whom I knew. Then I turn to my own household, and am reminded of desolation, not once but twice since then, besides the death of little children. Shall we repine? God forbid! 'I know the thoughts that I think toward you, thoughts of peace and not of evil, to give you an expected end.' We will trust him implicitly for He doeth all things well. We will endeavour to work while it is day, 'for the night cometh when no man can work.'"

Among their *compagnons de voyage* were Dr. Lachlan Taylor, who was going to England as the delegate of the Upper Canada Auxiliary, to the anniversary of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Rev. (now Professor) W. McLaren, then of Belleville; and there had preceded them Deacon Charles Alexander and wife, and one or two other Montreal friends, whom they expected to join in their Continental tour. We give some short extracts from journals kept.

London, May.

"We arrived safely in Liverpool after a tolerably pleasant voyage, and proceeded immediately to London. The great city is very full of visitors, not merely people from all parts of the kingdom, but foreigners in great numbers. The Queen was in retirement—the retirement of inconsolable grief—on account of the death of the Prince Consort, the previous December; we did not see her. The great exhibition at Kensington is one attraction, and the May anniversaries another.

On Sunday morning, we heard Mr. Binney in the Weigh-house chapel, and dined with him the following Tuesday at his house. In the evening, I listened to a very able lecture from Mr. R. W. Dale, of Birmingham.

On Wednesday, May 7th, we attended the annual meeting of the Bible Society in Exeter Hall, and heard Canon Stowell, Dean Close, Henry Allon, and Lachlan Taylor whose address was unique. His tall figure, Highland pronunciation, and amazing figures of speech greatly interested and somewhat amused the vast audience. ..... We dined with Mr. James at Canonbury, and in the evening went to Hare Court Chapel, and heard Spurgeon. He was most interesting. I had an interview the following day with the Committee of the Colonial Missionary Society, and met a number of friends at breakfast at the Congregational Library, Blomfield Street. Mr. Samuel Morley was in the Chair.

It being the Bi-Centenary year (Act of Uniformity, and ejectment of 2000 Non-conformist ministers) I asked them to mark it in Canada. I spoke of our labours and difficulties, specially of Hamilton, Belleville, and Ottawa, and at the close of the meeting Mr. Sargood placed £100 at my disposal for Canada, Mr. Morley £50, and other sums were added. ..... A few hours were afterwards spent in the Exhibition, and in the evening we went to Surrey Chapel to hear Mr. Raleigh preach in behalf of the Tract Society. ..... Friday and Saturday were spent in sight-seeing and letter writing. Saturday evening we went to Mr. Spicer's, at Woodford, and spent Sunday with them. We visited Miss Spicer's Sunday School in the afternoon, and I preached in the evening. On Monday we attended the annual meeting of the Borough Road School, Earl Russell in the chair." .....

On Tuesday, the annual sessions of the Congregational Union began, under the presidency of the Rev. Samuel Martin, of Westminster, who "delivered a most beautiful address from the Chair." Dr. Wilkes spoke as the representative of the Canadian Union, and again at the dinner which followed, at Radley's Hotel, where also the delegate from the United States, and others, gave addresses. Here he met with numbers of former friends, among whom he names with great delight his "old and dear friend, J. S. Wardlaw," and wife, with whom he afterwards dined, in company with his old college friend, Clement Dukes. For several weeks together, their time was almost wholly devoted to the May anniversaries.

"On Wednesday morning, I heard Dr. Thomson preach in behalf of the London Missionary Society, in Surrey Chapel. ..... In the evening we went to Jenny Lind's concert in Exeter Hall. The selections were mostly from Handel. Her Bird Song was the most wonderful thing to which I ever listened, though her voice hardly retained the exquisite clearness of 1845 when I heard her before. On Tuesday forenoon, I attended the annual meeting of the London Missionary Society, in Exeter Hall, dining afterwards with the Messrs. Spicer Brothers, and in the evening attending the Bi-Centenary Committee. The next day was the second meeting of the Congregational Union, at the Weigh-House, at which several papers were read and discussed, and the Spring session wound up. In the evening, I gave an address at Stepney Chapel, and supped with my old friend John Kennedy, the minister. Saturday morning, I breakfasted with the members of the Union in Westminster Chapel Schoolroom."....

Three weeks more were spent in visiting and sight-seeing, the details of which need not be given. He loved to preach, and abundant opportunities were afforded him of doing so—at the Weigh-house for Mr. Binney, at Greville place, St. John's Wood, for his old college friend Gallaway, and in St. James' Hall, where he had an audience of a thousand persons, mostly of the non-church-going class, to hear him. An amusing account is given of the crowd they saw returning from "The Derby," vehicles of all descriptions, from the nobleman's carriage to the donkey-cart, everything that could be put on wheels, rolling by for hours, in endless confusion, and attended by crowds on foot, as motley and as merry as can well be conceived. What was not so entertaining about it was, that there was no cab, or hack, or hansom to be had, and they had to walk a long distance in the midst of this "great unwashed," before they could procure any conveyance to take them home. On another occasion, he says,—

"I went to a most interesting meeting in Spurgeon's Tabernacle, when upwards of a thousand emigrants for New Zealand were gathered. It was a farewell service for them. There were several addresses given, good and ordinary, then Spurgeon came forward rubbing his hands in a hearty off-hand manner and said, in substance, 'We are glad to see you. It is a

grand thing for our Christian people to go out and settle new and unoccupied lands. You have a serious work before you, and will need God's presence and blessing. Perhaps I cannot do better than tell you what we expect from you, and what you may expect from us. Well then, we expect you to be loyal to England and our Queen. Let us sing God save the Queen. He instantly started it, and all stood up and sang it.' This being done, he continued to note other things which we might reasonably expect of them. Coming to the other part, he said, 'Blessed be they that expect little, for they shall not be disappointed,' and then promised them an interest in their prayers, etc. Looking at the whole circumstances, we will hope that our Lord's Kingdom will be extended by your movement. Take courage, for He will be with you. We have asked God to bless our Queen; let us now sing an anthem of praise to an infinitely greater monarch, King Jesus, 'All hail the power of Jesus' name.' Again, and with yet fuller and heartier response did the audience join him in that hymn, and he closed the meeting. His perfect freedom from the conventional—his readiness in availing himself of circumstances as they arise—his hearty English *bonhomie*, are all very striking, and fitted to captivate any English audience. Then, what he says is always worth listening to. And such a voice!"

Arrangements have in the meantime been made for their trip on the Continent. The party numbers nine persons, and is made up of Mr. and Mrs. Alexander, Messrs. Court and J. R. Dougall, the Rev. Dr. Ormiston, and Messrs. Laing and McLaren, with Dr. Wilkes and daughter. Leaving London June 9th, they cross from Dover to Ostend by night, and proceed by the first train in the morning to Brussels, passing through Ghent and Antwerp without stopping. After visiting the Cathedral with its curiously carved pulpit representing the Infant Jesus with his foot on the head of the serpent, they take the coach for the field of Waterloo, which is inspected with much interest. Particular attention is given to the farm of Rougemont, the scene of the thickest of the fight: La Belle Alliance with its numerous mementoes of the great battle; and chief of all, perhaps, the spot where Wellington, after holding his men for awhile, under a galling fire, awaiting the proper moment, hurled them upon the enemy with the command,

"Up, Guards! and at them!" The evening was spent at the house of the Rev. M. Anet, in company with a number of newly-found friends, interested in Belgian and French Canadian evangelization.

..... "We stayed over a train at Aix-la-Chapelle, to visit the old Cathedral, an erection of the eighth century by Charlemagne. His tomb is within it, also the chair in which his body was found. His helmet, gloves, etc., are exhibited. ..... There is also a general assortment of relics in the sacristy for the inspection of the faithful, which even the unbelieving may see for a trifling consideration.

A priest exhibits them one by one, and announces what it is in French, German, and English,—'Tooth of St. Thomas,' 'Piece of the True Cross,' etc."

This was too much for Dr. Ormiston, whose very hair grew more bristly than ever as he listened, and began to mutter his dissent, and testify against "these Popish abominations," and so, to avoid a scene, they moved on. Of the Cathedral at Cologne, he says,—

"There had been a very large amount of work done on it since my visit in 1849. The towers were rising, and the splendid window in the transept, with all its exquisite tracery. Save Milan, this is the finest piece of Gothic architecture in Europe, and it seems to me that the interior, though not so wide, is in some respects superior to Milan. The ceiling of the choir is 151 feet above the floor. One sits and gazes upward with amazement and awe."

From Cologne they proceeded up the Rhine together as far as Mayence, where the company divided, Dr. Wilkes with several others, desiring to take in Frankfort and Heidelberg on their trip.

"We found Frankfort a very pleasant city; visited the Domo, and also the ancient Town Hall where the German Diet was accustomed to assemble. ..... Friend A., desiring to find the Post Office, set off to make inquiries. Presently, seeing him and a lively little German talking and gesticulating together, we approached them, when our friend, with a look of mingled disgust and despair, exclaimed, 'Doctor, let us get out of this place soon: I cannot understand a word they say, and I wonder how they understand one another!'.....

The large church in Heidelberg is occupied as a place of worship both by Protestants and Catholics. Of course where these buildings are the property of the State, the Civil power, if liberal and broad enough, can make such an arrangement as this. The time was, when a Protestant congregation worshipped for a season in the old Recollet Church, Montreal, through the courtesy of the Fathers to whose care it was committed, and who also used it themselves. There are records of a vote of thanks, and the present of a hogshead of wine, to the kind Fathers for the permission granted, as a slight testimony of the gratitude of the congregation."

A brief stop was made at Strasburg, after which they pushed on to Basle for Sunday. They were disappointed, however, in not being able to find a church where an English service was held, so they attended a German one in the Cathedral.

"One of the tunes was known to me, and being common metre, I sang with them Watts' version of the 73rd Psalm, 'God my supporter and my hope, etc.' I enjoyed fellowship with them in worship, although our songs were not the same. We walked in the afternoon in the cloisters where Erasmus was wont to walk, more than three centuries ago, and under the stone flags of which his body is interred. ..... As in most continental cities, the Lord's Day is very poorly observed. A considerable amount of ordinary business is done in the forenoon, and after that it is made a holiday. I fear the Protestantism is in a comparatively low spiritual state, where the day of rest is so ignored.".....

From Basle they journeyed next day to Berne. They were charmed with the scenery, and also with the specimens of Swiss rural architecture they saw along the route, which lay between the ranges of mountains. Thence to Thun, and the region of the Swiss Lakes. In the afternoon they went down the lake to Interlacken in a small steamer.

....."The scenery all the way was most impressive in its magnificence. The water of the lake was of that peculiar blue which we see in pictures, and often think exaggerated. Snow fell the previous night on the hills, yet it was the 17th of June."

The next day, two of the gentlemen of the party resolved on a pedestrian excursion of twenty-four miles, to Lauterbrunnen, and Dr. Wilkes, though a considerably older man, "not to be beaten," went with them. This he afterwards regretted,

not only on account of the fatigue it caused, but for other reasons. They were rewarded, however, with the sight of the Staubach, whose waters fall in silvery whiteness 1000 feet, and of the wonderful Jungfrau, where, on the blowing of a horn, seven distinct echoes from the sides of the mountains were heard.

....." In many cases, the rocky side was rounded for a considerable height, as if a huge specimen of the church architecture we had seen in Piedmont. I fancied a vast Cathedral, built without hands by the Omnipotent Builder, when gazing upon these immense frontages of rock."

At Interlacken the two parties reunited, and set out on an excursion over the Alps into Italy, by the way of the Brunnen Pass, which is spoken of as "a great work for a country like Switzerland." Being the festival of *Corpus Christi*, what little they saw of Italy was Popish enough. Reaching Lucerne in the evening, they found the Grand Hotel full of French Legitimists, who had come to pay their respects to the Comte de Chambord (Henry V), and discuss the prospects of the party.

Of Fluellan he speaks as "the finest of the Swiss lakes," and for scenery perhaps "the finest in the world."

"We sailed under the Rhigi; would that we could have ascended! ..... The scenery is wildly grand; no habitations, nothing to be seen but enormous frowning battlements of rocks."

On landing, however, and proceeding in carriages, they could see that the mountains, on both sides of the lake, were occupied by people, living on ridges and patches of land, perched up there like goats.

"One wonders sometimes, that people consent to live amid such straitness and poverty, when millions of broad and fertile acres, on other continents, are waiting for occupants. And now we begin to ascend the winding road, and soon description utterly fails to express the really awful grandeur of the scene. (What a shame that the good word 'awful' should be prostituted to trifles, when it is needed to describe this vastness and grandeur.) To look down as we ascend, to be now and again in the clouds, to gaze into apparently incalculable depths, or on what is before you between the mountains, is really to experience the awful and the

sublime. The next morning, the 21st, my birthday, we rose early, and witnessed with delight the rays of the rising sun kissing the tops of the mountains while we stood below in the gloom."

At about noon they reach St. Gothard at the summit of the pass, and early in the evening arrive at Bellezona. Before leaving Amstadt, they had to make fresh arrangements with their guides. who were determined to drive on to Lugano on the Sabbath, and so "save a day." Our travellers, however, believing that the law of the Day of Rest applies equally to Switzerland and to Canada—away from home as well as at home—were firm in their refusal to go on, and spent the day quietly at Bellezona, having two religious services in their own rooms. A good example for all Continental tourists.

"Italy closes her places of business on the Sunday, much more generally than France or Switzerland.

..... We found a church, and in the corner of the yard which enclosed it, a shrine with a striking fresco painting. Below were purgatorial flames, with two men and two boys in the flames. Above was St. Joseph pointing the sufferers to the Virgin Mary, who has the Infant Jesus on her knee, at the top of the picture, and with whom St. Joseph is connected by a rosary chain. The Infant points the saint to his mother, and the souls in purgatory are looking up through the saint to the Virgin!..... The people are in darkness, but oh, the beauty of the scenery! Nature was gorgeous. One passes through vineyards everywhere on the sides of the hills."

Thence to Lugano, by way of Lakes Maggiore and Lucano; Como, once the residence of Pliny, and also of the unfortunate Queen Caroline, and then on to Milan, where they spent a day.

"The Cathedral is of immense width, there being within five aisles. ..... It is one of the costliest structures in the world. The marble was given free, yet the cost was 560 millions of francs. There are 5000 niches and pedestals for statues; about 2000 of them are occupied. We ascended to the roof, a level marble floor, from which we inspected by means of a field-glass, many of the beautiful figures in the turrets and elsewhere. From the great turret, our guide showed us the battlefields of Majenta and Solferino. ..... The three stained-glass windows are of

wondrous beauty. The ceiling is frescoed throughout. The whole indicates the Italian love of art.

..... We visited the Dominican Monastery, and the Refectory where the marvellous fresco-painting of 'The Last Supper,' by Leonardo da Vinci, is to be seen. It is a wonderful piece of art, on that stone wall, but alas! the damp and time are sore enemies. .....

At Turin, which is described as a fine and prosperous city, they visited Parliament, to which, they being English, were freely admitted. They also went to the Cathedral, and into the chapel in the rear, where they might have seen "our Saviour's shroud," but the king keeps the key of the box containing it!

We saw a procession of shambling, dirty-looking, bare-headed and bare-footed, wooden-sandalled, rope-girdled monks, who clattered along in pairs, some fifty in number. Alas! what a come down from the Bernards of a former time!"

The next day they proceeded to Latour in the Vaudois Valley of that name, a village of about 3000 people, who have retained the French Language, although on Italian soil, for the sake of its literature, and because they were unwilling that their children should mix with the Italians, who were wholly given over to Popery. They have two "Temples," (churches) and a College, through which they were shown by one of the Theological students. The opening of Italy to the Gospel was, however, effecting a change in the plans of the Waldensian church, and they were about to remove their forces to Florence, where they had a corps of professors, and a large number of students.

"The Governments of Holland, England, and America have often helped these interesting people. Cromwell once successfully threatened their enemies into more peaceable ideas. ..... We were shown the precipices down which, in darker times, the infuriated emissaries of Rome hurled women and children to their destruction. The Valley is full of memories of martyrdom for the faith of the Gospel."

The Sabbath was spent in Aosta, an old Roman city, containing some very interesting ruins of the age of Cæsar Augustus and earlier. Here they attended service in the Waldensian church, and in the afternoon Dr. Wilkes wrote a letter to his Sunday School.

Ascending Mount Becca da Nona, next day, the views obtained are described as inexpressibly grand and beautiful, the giant peaks of the Alps being all around them, now cloud-capped, and now coming into view in all their glory and majesty. At the Hospice of St. Bernard, which they reached the next evening, they were most courteously received by the monks.

"The monks occupy this place in relays, so as to lessen the effect upon their health of a residence in an atmosphere so rarified. They lodge and feed poor travellers, and no *charge* is made to anyone, but a box is placed in the church, in which those who can afford to do so, may deposit what they think an equivalent for the hospitality received. ..... The following morning we bade our entertainers farewell, and began our descent amid scenery ever varying, but always grand and beautiful. The sides of the mountains were often nearly perpendicular, and were now and again rounded and upheaved towards heaven like gigantic cathedral bases or towers. There were a good many evidences of avalanches from time to time, on these mountain sides, and in the valleys below. We reached Martigny and secured mules, and sallied forth, passing through the streets of the town in such zig-zag procession as our wayward and obstinate beasts permitted. We fancied the astonishment we should have produced in Notre Dame Street, Montreal, in our comical costumes, with baggage strapped on our mules' backs, passing from side to side, our beasts wholly uninfluenced by cudgel and bridle.

The scenery as we drew nearer the Tete Noir Pass, became wilder, more awful, and suggestive of profound depths of mystery. The road lies along a ledge of rock very high up, and then tunnelled through portions that project into the ravine, the depth of which is not discoverable. We slept at Barberine. Rising early, I walked out alone, and amid scenes fitted to impress one with the glorious majesty of God's wondrous works, I felt thankful that I could yet commune with Him as the loving Father, who careth for each of his own children. .....

We mounted our mules for Chamouni, and proceeded until we reached a spot I shall never forget. There were three glaciers before our eyes on one side, the Argentier, the Bois, the Boisson. Then on the other side, and winding somewhat, were the mighty mountain sides nearly perpendicular, leaving between a strangely mysterious chasm of depth unknown, yet at the bottom, wholly out of sight, might be heard the dashing along of the water, toward the river and lake. We stood for some time trying to take it in. No words could express our feelings. ..... Chamouni is

beautifully situated, surrounded by mountains, and having Mont Blanc perfectly revealed. On proceeding to the 'Mer de Glace,' we observed a heap of granite dust on the side of the glacier. This is produced by the moving on of the glacier—said to be at the rate of one foot in twenty-four hours—which grinds the face of the mountainous bank of the ravine, and fills it up. Having crossed the ice, we walked along the face of the rock, holding on by iron rods secured to it, the glacier below us and also hundreds of feet above us, and presently came to where the glacier breaks up. The boulders which it has brought down on its surface, now tell upon the mass of ice and bear it down, and it falls with the noise of thunder into the valley below, from which there comes up an extensive ice-spray. It was a sight never to be forgotten!"

They reached Geneva the following day in the afternoon.

"I marvelled at the improvement in this city since my visit in 1849. It is a handsome as well as a prosperous city. ..... We visited the junction of the Arb and the Rhone, the latter in large volume flowing out of Lake Leman, clear as crystal, the Arb dirty yellow, unsightly from the glaciers, and bringing down defilement as it flows into it two or three miles below the city. For a time they flow side by side quite separate, but at length they mingle, and the whole deteriorates. ..... How often is this true in respect to the intercourse of the innocent with the vicious and immoral!".....

On Sunday they attended service in the Episcopal church, and had, as usual, in the evening, an informal service in their own rooms. The next day, after completing their visits to the principal places and objects of interest in the city, they left for Paris, where they spent about a week, reaching London on the 17th July. Thus ended a tour of six weeks which is gratefully spoken of as having been "wonderfully enjoyable," and without accident of any kind to mar it.

Immediately after his return to London, Dr. Wilkes had a conference with Mr. James regarding our Colonial Missions. He also prepared a circular asking, as he had already done at the Union, for contributions, during this Bi-centenary year, on behalf of several church-buildings in Canada. The result was, that the churches at Hamilton, Ottawa, and Belleville,

received valuable assistance.* The gift to the first named induced a subscription among themselves, which, with the help obtained from England, paid off their debt. Two lectures were given on Colonial Missions, one at Hare Court Chapel (Dr. Raleigh's), and another at Kingsland (Mr. Aveling's).

A delightful visit was paid to his old friend Mr. Sommerville, near Bristol, with whom he attended a Social Tea in one of the chapels in the neighbourhood among the colliers.

"These people were wild and barbarous until Whitfield came among them, and preached the Gospel with such power. Now, throughout, there are Sunday Schools, and plain but comfortable chapels in which they assemble on Sunday, and often during the evenings of the week. ..... Great and permanent good is being done among this plain but stalwart people.

..... At Stroud, on our way to Birmingham, we called on Mr. Marling (afterwards Sir Samuel), uncle of our friend M. in Toronto, who received us kindly in his elegant mansion, and afforded us the opportunity of going through his mills. ..... In Birmingham we saw all my surviving relatives, Mr. Dale, and other friends, and also Miss James, the bedridden but most interesting daughter of J. Angell James."....

In Edinburgh, he enjoyed a most pleasant reunion with his old friend the Rev. G. D. Cullen, of Leith, and others, but in his former church in Albany Street, the absence of old familiar faces was very painful.

"Nearly all had passed away, and the men and women now, were but children when I left, and I could not recall their names. One and another, by and by, recognized me, telling some little incident of a visit when they were children. ..... I dined with Dr. Alexander and his father, a fine old gentleman of 82, and preached twice in Augustine Church, where we had a collection for the Colonial Society."

A long contemplated tour through the Highlands, by way of the Caledonia Canal, had to be abandoned, in consequence of appointments made for him, at Halifax and Leeds, which

* The accounts of the church in Ottawa show the receipt of $196.95 "collected by Dr. Wilkes," and $1494.69 "from the Colonial Society," or a total of $1691,64. Kingston church received, according to Dr. W., over $300, "and soon after proceeded to arise and build that excellent structure which is a credit to them, and an ornament of their city."

he loyally fulfilled. At Halifax, he was the guest of Mr. Francis Crossley (afterwards created a Baronet, on the occasion of a visit of the Prince of Wales), one of the great firm of carpet manufacturers, another member of which, Mr. John Crossley, occupied the chair at the meeting which he addressed on behalf of the Society. Similar service was also rendered at Leeds and Bradford. The last Sunday in England was spent in London.

"On Sunday morning, August 24th, I heard Mr. Binney's famous Bi-centenary sermon. The chapel was crowded. It was a discourse of wonderful power and interest, and the only one, out of hundreds on the occasion, which 'The Times' reproduced." *

Having completed his engagements in England, Dr. Wilkes left London for Liverpool, where he was joined by his daughter, who had been spending a few days in the North, and crossed with her to Ireland, in advance of the steamer. There, after a brief visit to Dublin, Enniskillen, and Londonderry, they embarked in the "Norwegian" for Quebec. There were nine ministers on board, upon which he dryly remarks, "and yet the "Norwegian" made a remarkably good voyage!" They reached home September 9th, and received a most hearty welcome from the church and congregation.

The Colonial Committee sent him, on his return, a resolution expressive of their warm appreciation of his services, as their Agent, for the past twenty-six years, and enclosed £25 to cover extra expenses of travel on their account, in England and Scotland, on the receipt of which, he replied,—

".... Pray convey my thanks to the Committee, for their consideration in the matter, and assure them that I have great pleasure in thinking of my intercourse with them, and of such services as I was enabled to

* The Bi-centenary was observed at the meeting of the Congregational Union of Canada, by the reading, and subsequent publication, of two very able and interesting papers—one by the Rev. W. F. Clarke, on "The history of Non-conformity in England in 1662," and the other by the Rev. F. H. Marling, on "The reasons for Non-conformity in Canada in 1862." Many of our ministers also preached on the subject, on the anniversary of the ejectment (August 24.)

render to the cause in England and Scotland. Through the good hand of our God upon us, the summer's work and enjoyment have been unmingled with any causes of regret, for everything here has proceeded happily."

Soon after his return, he delivered four lecture-room talks on what they had seen in their travels, and the condition of things in England, and on the Continent, which were very much enjoyed. The only extra-congregational services rendered before the close of 1862, appear to have been preaching at the dedication of the church in Ottawa, on the 15th October, and assisting in the ordination of Mr. J. A. Farrar, at Cowansville, about the same time.

CHAPTER XII.

1863–1871.

THE early part of the year 1863 was marked by very widespread religious awakening in connection with the visit of the Rev. E. P. Hammond, the Evangelist, to Hamilton, London, and Montreal. While not able to sanction all Mr. Hammond's methods, or statements, Dr. Wilkes, with others of the city pastors, attended many of the services, and assisted by conversing with inquirers, and otherwise Zion church shared largely in the blessing received. Many of the young people were interested. A new voice and new methods of presenting the truth were graciously employed by the Spirit of God in bringing a multitude to decision, of whom 62 sought admission to Zion church, on profession of their faith. The membership was now over four hundred, but the pastor was able to report at the annual meeting, that he had visited the whole church and congregation during the year. This year, too, the deacons reported that the last remains of the debt had been paid off, so that they were now in the enviable condition of "owing no man anything but to love one another;" and feeling rich and happy and thankful, they presented their pastor, in the name of the church, with a purse of gold.

Out of debt, the church began to devise liberal things, either in the way of an enlargement of their present edifice, or the establishment of a Branch, or Mission church, in the North-eastern part of the city. In the spring of 1864, a meeting, in which much enthusiasm was manifest, was held on the subject, and measures set on foot for accomplishing the object in view. Contrary to the pastor's judgment, however, the church resolved on enlarging "Zion," though not by a unanimous vote. Dr. Wilkes' own conviction was that it would

have been better to leave "Zion" as it was, and to spend the $8000 which the enlargement cost, in erecting a neat edifice which might form the transept of a church afterwards, in which to begin a Sunday School, and to conduct regular worship, with two ministers to preach alternately it the two places.

Other counsels prevailed, however, and in 1865, the church-edifice was enlarged, and otherwise improved by the erection of a vestry, and residence for the sexton in the rear. But as the city was growing rapidly, and many members were being lost to the denomination, in consequence of the long distances at which they were living from the church, there was a considerable number among them who were not satisfied with the decision arrived at. Some of these, two years later, obtained the sanction of the church for the formation of a congregation in Amherst Street, in the Eastern part of the city; while others, feeling that there was even a better opening in the West, laid their plans for a future movement in that direction. But we must not anticipate.

Meanwhile, on the death of Mr. James, the Rev. J. L. Poore had become Secretary of the Colonial Missionary Society, a change which seems to have involved very largely the fighting of the battle for Canada over again, in the correspondence that ensued.

"He had spent a number of years in Australia, and deemed our Canadian results, in the establishing of self-supporting churches, as presenting a very unfavourable comparison with theirs. I had to show the important differences in the settlement of the English portion of the two Colonies, Australia receiving quite a number of tried Congregationalists from England, including men of substance; Canada receiving the same class mainly from Scotland, and therefore Presbyterians—the middle-class English who emigrated to America for the most part going to the United States."

The voluminousness of the correspondence, and the failure, apparently, to effect much change in Mr. Poore's opinion, seem to have discouraged Dr. Wilkes, and he writes,—

"I must be relieved. Twenty-eight years' service is surely my share. I bless God that He has enabled me to continue so long without a jar on

this side the Atlantic, or on yours. I praise Him for His great mercy to me in preserving my health and vigour, but I have the profound conviction that the time has come when other measures are needful. My own vocation is plainly the pulpit and the pastorate. I have a large church (upwards of 400 members), a large and increasing congregation (we are enlarging our church edifice), plans for stretching our lines of effort in the city (mission schools and congregations). In addition to which I commence, in October, my part in the new arrangements of our Theological College, which is being removed here, namely, lecturing in Homiletics and Pastoral Theology. Thus I shall not have time to do what I have hitherto done for our Missionary work, whereas a great amount more needs to be done. ..... I repeat the remark that change becomes a matter of necessity: the present arrangements cannot continue."

The removal of the College to Montreal requires more than a passing reference. The retirement of Dr. Wickson, now of London, Eng., from the Classical Tutorship in 1862, had opened the way for new arrangements in regard to the literary part of the course of study. It was felt, indeed, by many, that the time had arrived for taking a distinct step in advance, and requiring applicants for admission first to take the Arts course in some University, before entering upon their Theological studies. Others, again, thought we were not prepared for so radical a change, but while favouring the general principle, preferred leaving details in each case to the judgment of the College Board. There were difficulties, however, in the way of working out the literary part of the scheme in Toronto, which did not appear to exist in Montreal, arising from the differences in the constitutions of the Universities in these respective cities. And hence, after long and earnest discussion, the decision was reached, in 1863, by a vote of 31 yeas to 8 nays, to remove the College to Montreal the next year. Some warm friends of the Institution were strongly opposed to the removal, largely because the Western Capital was felt to be more central to the churches to be served by the College; but the matter was decided by Western votes; Montreal, where the decision was taken, and which had sixty votes, being

silent, with one exception, neither speaking nor voting, yea or nay. Very shortly the opposition subsided, for at the next annual meeting, in Brantford, on a motion to reconsider the question, the decision was re-affirmed, *nem. con.* At the same meeting, on recommendation of the Provisional Board, Dr. Wilkes was appointed to the Chair of Homiletics and Pastoral Theology, and the Rev. George (now Dr.) Cornish, to the Chair of Greek Testament Exegesis, both of them, at their own request, without remuneration, and on the 26th October, 1864, the first session of the College in Montreal was opened by a public service in Zion Church.* For this new position, Dr. Wilkes was eminently fitted. Himself "a workman who needed not to be ashamed," whether in preaching, or in shepherding his flock, he brought to the performance of his new duties not only rare qualifications and ripe experience, but a zest in discharging them that was felt to be most helpful and quickening to the young men in his classes. These duties he continued to discharge until Dr. Stevenson's appointment to the Principalship, in 1883, when they were assumed by the new Principal as a part of his work.

Reverting again to domestic matters, which are not intended to have any very prominent place in these memoirs, it should be noted that in December of this year, Dr. Wilkes' eldest daughter, Lucy, was married to the Rev. John Monroe Gibson, then junior pastor of Erskine Church, Montreal, and now of St. John's Wood, London. Delicacy forbids our reproducing the language, but the correspondence belonging to that period indicates the very great satisfaction with which her father performed the marriage, and the high hopes he entertained of their future happiness and usefulness. It is hardly necessary to say that the relations existing between Dr. Wilkes and his son-in-law, were always of the most cordial character. A contribution from Dr. Gibson's pen, which will be found in the appendix, will be read with much interest, and shows how

* *Can. Independent*, November, 1863: *Can. Cong. Year Book*, 1874-75, pp. 23, 24.

truly filial, on his part, was the affection that grew out of the relationship.

The marriage of his daughter led to further changes in the home. In April, 1865, Dr. Wilkes married Miss Barbara McKeand of Glasgow, (residing at the time with her brother, Mr. James McKeand, in Hamilton,) a lady who proved in every way a true help-meet, and whose untiring devotion to his wants and infirmities, in his declining years, won for her the admiration of all. A brief trip to New York and Boston was taken, concerning which it is noted, that while in the latter place, the guest of his friend S. S. Ward, the news of the assassination of President Lincoln was received, and that they attended a solemn funeral service in one of the churches, in connection with that sad event. On reaching home, they found it had been invaded by the ladies of the congregation, who had prepared sundry pleasant surprises for them, to gladden their return.

In the spring of 1865, the Rev. J. L. Poore, Secretary of the Colonial Missionary Society, and the Rev. Dr. George Smith, of Poplar, Secretary of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, came to this country, as a deputation from the British churches, and attended our annual meetings in Toronto, in June. Mr. Poore came specially to lay before the Canadian brethren the new plan of co-operation adopted by the Colonial Committee in regard to our Missionary work, the principal features of which were, the granting of a bulk sum annually, to be absolutely at the disposal of the Canadian Committee, instead of a revision, in London, of the grants made, with the power to veto or modify them; and the oversight of the work by District Committees, to be composed of pastors and members of self-sustained and contributing churches. The scheme itself would probably have been accepted without much discussion, but for certain charges by Mr. Poore, of a lack of the missionary spirit, and of unwillingness to bear our share of the burden in carrying on the work.

"How is it," he exclaimed, "that I see, in moving about the country, your handsome carriages and horses driving up to church, and then find your contributions are a dollar or half a dollar, that is four shillings and two pence, or two shillings and a penny? These *dollars* deceive you! You think they are *pounds* sterling!" Charges like these against men who felt that they were doing their utmost to bring their churches up to the point of self-support, could not be heard in silence, and there was some very plain speaking on both sides, in the course of which we think our Canadian churches held their own, in the comparison instituted with those in England and Australia, in point of liberality and progress. On the whole, the visit of Mr. Poore cleared the atmosphere, and as Dr. Wilkes remarks,—

"The medicine he administered was bitter, but it did us good, and the *suave* of Dr. Smith, so gently intoned, helped us to stand the severer treatment. The result was that a new departure was inaugurated, and for some years the Society gave us a lump sum annually, the understanding being that it was to be gradually lessened in amount for existing work, but might be added to if new enterprises were entered upon."

Mr. Poore went the next year to Australia, and there died. Dr. Wilkes says of him,—

"He was a man of great energy, very outspoken, and uncompromising, perhaps a trifle severe in his judgments, but a true man, and essentially kind and loving. He must have accomplished a great deal for our Australian churches. ..... His memoir by Mr. Cobbin is of great interest."

While these English brethren were visiting the churches in the West, Dr. Wilkes went, as did a number of our Canadian pastors, to the meeting of the great National Council of Congregational churches in Boston, which has since been held triennially. Dr. Vaughan and Dr. Raleigh were present as the delegation of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, and bore its greetings. Their duty was an extremely delicate one.

"It so happened that as Editor of the *British Quarterly*, Dr. Vaughan had not been in complete sympathy with the Northern States, in the struggle which had just terminated, and a mischievous hand had extracted from that Review, and had printed and circulated through the meeting, paragraphs relating to the civil war bearing against the North. It is difficult now to realize the intensely bitter feeling which that strife engendered, on both sides, and for a moment it seemed a question whether the Council would hear Dr. Vaughan. Henry Ward Beecher, however, happily interposed, pointing out the representative character of the venerable man, and the ease with which mistakes might be made in regard to their civil war by writers in a foreign country. Quiet was restored, and our English Congregational Nestor rose to address the assembly. It was a splendid speech."……

He was heard with respectful attention, but although he made frank and free acknowledgment, as he had done before leaving England, that he had been mistaken, and had changed his mind in regard to the attitude of North and South, the temper of the meeting was not yet wholly sweetened.

Dr. Raleigh, a well understood friend of the Northern cause, followed with a brief speech, in which he humourously proposed, that as this was a difficult subject, they should deal with it as the Scottish minister dealt with an obscure passage he met with, in the course of his exposition: "this," he said, "is a much controverted text: no two commentators appear to agree in their interpretation of it. My brethren, let us look this difficulty boldly in the face,—*and pass on.*" And they did, for although, on the presentation of the draft of a reply to the greetings of the English Union, one member of the Council endeavoured to prevent its adoption, Mr. Beecher carried the address by storm, in a magnificent speech, which he concluded by stooping down and giving to each of the English delegates (who sat in front of the platform) his hand, in token of the perfect accord and eternal brotherhood of English and American Congregationalists. The excitement and delight of the immense audience at the result exceeded anything we ever saw.

After fulfilling their appointment at Boston, and seeing Washington, New York, and other points in the United States, Dr. Vaughan and Dr. Raleigh visited Toronto and Montreal, at each of which places they spent a Sabbath and preached. Dr. Wilkes characterizes the sermon by Dr. Raleigh (on Hebrew xii, 1) as "a discourse of great beauty, and very inspiring:" and Dr. Raleigh, that of Dr. Vaughan, on Isaiah liii, 11, "He shall see of the travail of his soul, etc.," as "one of the finest he had ever heard Dr. Vaughan preach.' Alas, their eloquent tongues have long been silent!

During the summer, Dr. Wilkes attended two ordination services, the first at Middleville, on the 2nd of August, where Mr. James Douglas was installed as pastor of the church; the other, August 19th, at St. John, N. B., where the Rev. J. G. Baylis was settled as the pastor of "Zion" Church. On both of these occasions, he gave the charge to the minister inducted.

In November he visited Brantford, by invitation of the church, and preached, on the 19th, at the dedication of the handsome new church edifice which had been erected, to replace the one destroyed by fire the previous year. The Rev. Mr. Marling of Toronto rendered similar service in the afternoon. The account of the opening services in the *Canadian Independent* for December, speaks of the new building as "a perfect gem," and declares that "Divine Providence has marvellously overruled the wicked act (of incendiarism) for good."

The year 1866, seems to have been marked by nothing specially noteworthy, in regard to either church or missionary matters, beyond the fact that in October, on the completion of the thirtieth year of his pastorate, he was presented with a purse of $1000, as a token of regard, and as a memento of the occasion. A further addition was also made to his stipend, bring it up to $2400 per annum. In his annual sermon, he sketched the history of the church during his connection with

it, and brought out the following interesting facts: During the first decade, the membership had increased from 48 to 201. The next decade had been one of struggle and anxiety, and the net increase had been only 10. The third, like the first, had been marked by a great advance; the membership had more than doubled, and now stood at 426. The cost of the recent enlargement of their house of worship had all been met, and it was mentioned, with pardonable pride, that the total contributions of the year had been $10,000.

In April, 1867, Dr. Wilkes' aged father, who had for some years been living with his daughter, in Montreal, died very suddenly, in his eighty-sixth year. His remains were taken to Brantford, by his son, accompanied by two nephews, and laid to rest in the pretty cemetery there, alongside those of his wife.

On the 23rd of June the Doctor sailed from Quebec in the SS "Moravian," for Londonderry, from whence he went to Glasgow to join Mrs. Wilkes who had preceded him by another steamer. The only incident upon the voyage worthy of note, was a patriotic celebration of the first of July, that being the day on which the Act for the Confederation of the four Provinces of Ontario, Quebec, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick took effect, and the Dominion of Canada became an accomplished fact.

The time spent in Britain being almost entirely devoid of business of a denominational character, it is not needful to enter into details which are of no public interest. Here and there only shall we note a fact, or a remark in the line of our general plan. While in London, he says,—

"The intelligence reached me that on the 28th July, Zion Church building had been destroyed by fire. ..... The fire seems to have commenced near the organ. It raged remorselessly; the steeple fell with a crash upon the roof, which also being on fire fell in, and thus, with the exception of the four walls, the basement, and the vestries, the whole became a heap of ruins. This was very sad intelligence, and it cast a damper on our enjoyment. I knew there was good insurance, but such a catastrophe deranges all church interests and work."

Crossing the Channel into France, four days were given to the "Exposition" in Paris, after which he proceeded, by way of the Rhine, to Rotterdam, and thence to Amsterdam, with a view to attending the meetings of the Evangelical Alliance, which were to be held in that city. After some descriptive references to the city itself, with its enormous dyke, and its numerous canals and docks, Dr. Wilkes says of the Alliance gathering,—

"The introductory discourse of Prof. Ooster was delivered in the great Cathedral. It was a long service. He spoke nearly two hours, without a single note before him, making one or two pauses, during which a verse or two of a hymn was sung. The singing was in unison. The voices of hundreds of children could be heard coming from a large recess in the Cathedral, where they could not be seen by the greater part of the congregation. All was in Dutch, so, though interested, we could not speak of being edified.....

The meetings of the Alliance were held in a large hall, in the midst of a garden. There I met Dr. and Mrs. Willis, Principal of Knox College, Toronto, Mr. (now Dr.) Cunningham Geikie, a former alumnus of our Congregational College of B. N. A., then of Islington Chapel, London, and other friends. The President, a Baron, was a most accomplished gentleman who spoke fluently Dutch, German, French, and English. In these four languages all the hymns to be sung were printed side by side: we sang, each in his and her own language, the praises of our common God and Saviour. It was deeply affecting, at least it was so to me. ..... We had a very fine address by Dr. Pressensé, of Paris, in French, and one by Dr. McCosh, then of Belfast, now of Princeton, N. J., in English. Tholuck spoke to us in German. I could understand only those in French and English. We dined together once. Dr. Irenæus Prime, of New York, with whom I was slightly acquainted, asked me to second the invitation he was about to give to hold the next general meeting of the Alliance in New York, which I did. It was, at the time, expected that in three or four years, such a meeting would be held there. The Franco-German War, of 1870, intervened, the embittering influence of which lasted long enough to prevent the meeting being held earlier than 1873, when one of the largest, and I suppose the most successful meetings of the Alliance was held in that city.".....

From Amsterdam he went to the Hague. There he visited

the Queen's and King's Palaces, and public buildings, and the old prison where the rack, and other now rusty instruments of torture are exhibited,—sad memorials of the times of cruel persecution of the saints of the Most High.

"What grim and savage cruelty do these instruments indicate! And yet the refined and distinguished of those centuries employed them remorselessly! I do not think the world is getting worse, whatever some of our modern seers may say to the contrary."

Returning to England, he paid several hasty visits to old friends at Bristol, Weston, and Buxton. At the last named place he had a delightful visit with Mr. Binney, whom he there met for the last time. At Halifax he was attacked by his old enemy lumbago, but fulfilled, notwithstanding, an engagement to preach, at both services, in the Square church, although suffering very acutely while doing so. This attack prevented him attending, as he had purposed doing, the meetings of the British Association for the advancement of Science, which were held that year in Dundee. So as soon as he had sufficiently recovered, he embarked, with Mrs. Wilkes, on board the SS. "Peruvian," and in due season reached home again, without any particular incident attending the voyage.

"As we drove up from the Railway Station, past Zion Church, the ruins lay in apparently hopeless confusion, but we learned that the decision had been taken to rebuild on the same spot, and that tenders had been received for the several parts of the work. The time of year at which the fire had occurred was unfortunate. Our leading people are out of town in August, and the decision to rebuild on the old site was reached during their absence, and contrary to the expressed wishes of many of them."……

It was also resolved to unite in worship with the American church, until the rebuilding was complete. This was done, Mr. Bonar, the pastor of that church, preaching one half of the day, and Dr. Wilkes the other, until near the close of the year, when the basement of Zion Church, which had been greatly improved, by sinking the floor eighteen inches, and concreting the entire area under it, was re-opened for public

worship. The restoration of the main audience room was not completed until the following spring. It was re-dedicated, May 10th, 1868. In the new arrangements an excellent College Room was provided, in which that important Institution was housed free of expense, until its transference to Emmanuel Church, in 1880.

Here is a little "gem" of good fellowship, which should no longer be hidden in "the dark unfathomed caves of ocean," and which we have fished out for the benefit of some who would "fill their churches" at any cost.

"No sooner had we bidden farewell to our friends of the American church, with warm thanks for their kindness, than some unpleasantness occurred among them, leading to the coming among us of five or six families, for the time being. I called on them all, expressed my sorrow that they had been disturbed in their church relationship, and said, that while they should have all pastoral sympathy and attention during their stay, I hoped that matters would in due time be so arranged that they would cheerfully return to their old church home. After some months, this hope was realized, and Messrs. —, —, —, kindly presented me with a time-piece, and a butter-cooler, as a token of their regard."

On the re-opening of Zion Church, the pew-rent question was again raised, and vigorously debated. A motion was made to assess sittings, on a scale varying according to the position of the pews, to meet all expenses, to which an amendment was proposed, to the effect that a low scale of pew-rents be adopted, so that all should pay something, but that this should be supplemented by a weekly collection, in which full scope would be allowed for voluntary liberality. Both of these plans were rejected by large majorities. Then a motion was made to adopt the free pew system, pure and simple, alloting no seats, and asking no one what he would give. This was also rejected, upon which it was voted, almost unanimously, to approve and re-affirm the plan adopted twenty years before, of the "Weekly Offering," and the allotment of pews and sittings in the order of seniority on the church roll. Such a testimony, after so long a trial, ought to be regarded as

practically settling the pew-rent question, at least for Congregational churches.

Passing over the year 1868, which appears to have been unmarked by any very important extra-parochial duties, beyond preaching at the dedication of the Northern church, in Toronto, on the 12th of January;* at the installation of the Rev. Mr. Ebbs, at Ottawa, in September, and a visit of several weeks' duration to the Lower Provinces, we come to very important events in the history of Zion Church, and of the denomination. On the 28th of February, the Eastern Congregational church in Montreal was opened for public worship, with appropriate services, in which Dr. Wilkes, Dr. Lillie, and Rev. H. J. Colwell, the pastor, took the leading parts. The cost, in money, of the undertaking had been about $7,600, one half of which had been borne by the Mother church. The toils and cares that were expended upon it, in the hope of making it a success, but which, from various causes, were doomed to disappointment, can never be counted. The Lord has all in his "book of remembrance!" The little church struggled on, through great difficulties and discouragements, till 1880, when the property was sold, and the name disappeared from our Roll. One important lesson to be learned from its failure is, never build a church upon *a poor site!*

But 1869 is chiefly memorable as the year in which Dr. Lillie, the much loved and respected Principal of the Congregational College in Montreal, was taken to his rest. He had left his home in Toronto (from whence he had never removed his family) to attend to his duties in the College, and had addressed the students, at the opening of the session, on the evening of Wednesday, the 13th October, appearing then to be in excellent health. On the day following, he united with his colleagues and his class, in a devotional service, after which he arranged with them the days and hours of his lectures and

* Dr. Wilkes was also to have preached at the dedication of the new church edifice in Guelph, on the 15th of the same month, but was recalled home by the sudden death of Mr. W. Learmont, one of his deacons.

other exercises, and retired to his temporary home, at the house of Mr. John Leeming, from which he went out no more till carried to his long home. His death occurred October 19th, in the 67th year of his age. An editorial obituary notice of him, in the "*Independent*" for November, 1869, thus refers to him.

....."We should be most remiss, and ungrateful, as one of his students, did we not bear testimony to the truly paternal affection cherished by him towards his pupils, his entire devotion to their interests and those of the College, and to the loving and almost filial regard in which, as a consequence, he was uniformly held by them. Our memories of the class-room are all of the pleasantest character. His estimate of our productions and exercises was always generous, often more so, perhaps, than they deserved; and his criticisms were offered in so kindly a manner, that we do not recall a single instance in which he ever wounded the feelings of one of his students. He was not blind, of course, to the diverseness of their gifts and qualifications for the work for which they were preparing, but he ever looked hopefully upon them, and spoke of their excellencies rather than of their defects. No man had a higher estimate than Dr. Lillie, of the requirements of the Christian ministry, in respect to intellectual endowment and culture, and never was Theological Professor more faithful or laborious in his preparation to meet his class. His reading was prodigious, and his memory most retentive and accurate, and, as a consequence, he was continually re-writing his courses of lectures, in order that he might lay before his students the very latest and choicest fruits of his own reflection and research. But yet, while thus anxious to do the very best for his classes, and to send forth workmen of whom none need be ashamed, he judged—and rightly so, we think—that in a new country like Canada, there is room for talent of various orders, and that men of very moderate abilities and attainments, may be made exceedingly useful, if only their hearts beat in living sympathy with the message of Divine mercy they are sent to proclaim. Hence, he loved them all impartially, and watched their subsequent career with all the interest of a father, rejoicing with them in their successes, and sympathizing with them in their discouragements and trials, to the last hour of his life." *

* The same number of the *Canadian Independent* contains interesting sketches of Dr. Lillie's life and ministry, by Dr. Wilkes and the Rev. Thomas Baker.

The Alumni of the College, by permission of the family, placed the next spring, a very neat white marble headstone, with suitable inscription upon it, to the grave of their former tutor, to mark their appreciation of his character and work. The churches of the denomination, also, expressed their sense of obligation by contributing $5,000 to a "Lillie Memorial Fund," the usufruct of which is to be enjoyed by his widow, during her lifetime, but which is ultimately to go to form the nucleus of an endowment for a "Lillie Professorship of Church History."

The death of the Principal, occurring as it did at the very commencement of the session, it was, of course, impossible to make any other than temporary arrangements for the work of the winter, and Dr. Wilkes and Professor Cornish, with characteristic energy, stepped into the breach, and undertook, at great personal sacrifice, to carry it on, till a meeting of the Corporation, which alone could appoint a successor, could be held. Such a meeting was convened in Toronto on the 4th January following, but, after full discussion, it was decided to "postpone the appointment of a professor until the general annual meeting of the Corporation in June." Correspondence meanwhile was had with the Committee of the Colonial Society, which has always contributed largely to the support of the College, and on the 10th June, 1870, the Board of Directors, with the full concurrence of Zion Church, and of the Colonial Committee, nominated Dr. Wilkes to the Principalship, and he was appointed by unanimous vote.

This action was taken absolutely without any prompting on Dr. Wilkes' part. All through life the honours that were heaped upon him came, not of his seeking, but rather because others sought to honour him.

"My age," he says, "and my long absorption in other than College work, I felt to be a great objection to my accepting the position, and I did not in the least offer myself for the service. The difficulty was chiefly that the College could not afford a salary of more than $1400, and no one

qualified could be found for less than about double that amount of stipend. In my case, however, Zion Church was ready to supplement that sum by a retiring allowance of $1000 per annum, so that the salary I was then receiving should be continued."

Under these circumstances he felt almost compelled to undertake the duty laid upon him, and having signified his intention of so doing, he was solemnly inducted into office as Principal and Professor of Theology, on Monday evening, the 13th of June, the Rev. Edward Ebbs presiding, and the Rev. E. J. Sherrill, of Eaton, leading the assembly in the designation prayer.

On the 21st of September, at the opening of the thirty-second session of the College, he pronounced his inaugural address, the closing sentences of which we subjoin. After discoursing of the end and aim of the Christian ministry, under its threefold aspect of prophet, healer and soldier, he concludes by saying:

"Our hopes of stretching forth our line of effort for the well-being of the land greatly depend, under God, on the zeal, intelligence, single-mindedness, and self-sacrifice of our rising ministry. From this school have gone forth in the years that are past not a few men full of faith and of the Holy Ghost, who have done a great and good work in our country, and are still prosecuting it with untiring energy. We look to the present and succeeding classes to reach even a higher standard of qualification, and of practical efficiency. Every generation demands its own type of men, in its posts of influence and power. If we inherit the gains and progress of the past, it is not that we may enjoy them in idleness, but that we may use them in the march towards further attainments. It is fitting that we should venerate the names and doings of our glorious ancestry; but we should be recreant to the principles they taught us did we not press forward to what is yet greater and nobler. The Lord helping us we will do this. In the name of the God of Israel, and our Saviour King, we will set up our banners, not merely in a fortress, but in a moving camp which is marching on to the conquest of the world for Jesus Christ. We will seek to be priests in sanctity and consecration—prophets in culture and power—soldiers in boldness and courage. We pray always our gracious Master will make and mould us. Your continued and fervent supplications are craved on this behalf. Thus encouraged and stimulated—thus animated by hope

and cheered by the sympathy of the churches, and the promises of God—we now enter upon the work of the session before us."*

By vote of the church, Dr. Wilkes' relation to his former charge became henceforth that of pastor *emeritus;* but owing to the difficulty of procuring suitable supply, he continued to fill the pulpit until the induction of his successor in the following May. Immediate steps were taken, however, to procure a suitable pastor, for which purpose one of the members was specially deputed to go to England, and in conjunction with several others already there select a successor to the vacant pastorate. As the result of their searching, and recommendation, an unanimous invitation was sent, early in the winter, to the Rev. Charles Chapman, M.A., of Percy Chapel, Bath, to become their pastor. This invitation having been accepted, Mr. Chapman came out with his family to Canada in the spring, and was duly installed in office on the 10th May.

At the social meeting held the next evening, two addresses were presented to Dr. Wilkes, one by the deacons, another by the congregation, accompanied by a testimonial consisting of a solid silver salver, bearing the following inscription:

"This salver, containing $1200 in gold, was presented to the Rev. Dr. Wilkes, D.D., LL.D., by the members of Zion Church and congregation, as a slight token of their esteem and affection, May 11th, 1871, on the occasion of a co-pastor being associated with him, after a pastorate of 35 years."

Although the phrase "co-pastor" would seem to imply a relationship of co-ordinate powers and responsibility, Dr. Wilkes says:

"While Mr. Chapman was on his voyage, and before I had seen him, I called the attention of the deacons and Church Board to my understanding of the offer to him of an unfettered pastorate, namely, that I relinquished all responsibility in regard to the pulpit, the committees, the plans, the work of the church—that in respect of the pulpit, it would be no longer mine, in any sense, on his taking possession of it—and that with this clear understanding I should be ready to preach, to visit, etc., so far as in m

* *Canadian Independent*, November, 1870.

lay, *when asked to do so*. The arrangement thus introduced has worked without a jar. My relations with Mr. Chapman were of the most affectionate character." * * *

Mr. Chapman, in a communication recently received, indicates how thoroughly he appreciated the confidence reposed in him. The position of a co-pastor over a large and flourishing church is, under any circumstances, one of great delicacy and responsibility. It is specially so where the senior pastor has been so many years in charge, as was the case with Dr. Wilkes, and where the church is practically the work of his hands, as, under God's blessing, it was in this instance. Few men have the grace to say, with the Baptist's unenvying satisfaction, "he must increase, but I must decrease," to quietly and contentedly take the second place, after having so long filled the first. Ministers are but men, and it must be confessed that although there is abundant precedent for the co-pastoral relation in the New Testament,* its history in recent times has not been very encouraging. Moreover, as Mr. Chapman remarks:—

"When a man simply succeeds another who has vacated the pastorate, he has a clear course before him for the carrying out of whatever methods of worth may commend themselves to his judgment, as being for the good of the church. But such was not the case in this instance. The Church in Montreal, with a loyalty worthy of all honour, felt that, although their beloved pastor was henceforth to labour in training men for the Christian ministry, they could not bear think of him, after so many years of faithful service, as severed officially from them, and therefore, it was arranged that in the new provision to be made for the service of the pulpit and pastorate, the tie which had hitherto held Dr. Wilkes in official relationship to the people should remain untouched. No resignation was to take place. No vacancy in the pastorate was to occur. On the other hand, he was to still remain as senior pastor, or pastor *emeritus*, rendering nominal service only, with a provision for life out of the revenues of the Church, as a token of affection and confidence. All these particulars were explained to me with a care and frankness which awakened my admiration for the people, whose

* Acts xiv. 23: Phil. i. 1.: Titus i. 5.

feelings toward their old pastor were so regardful, and for him, that he could with such heartiness enter into the new arrangements. It may be interesting to have his own words on the subject. In a letter dated Sept. 23rd, 1870, Dr. Wilkes, after detailing the various stages of the negotiations up to that date, added, "I shall rejoice to have a successor of your age, attainments and qualifications, for though I retain a nominal connection, as senior pastor, you, if you come, will be the *real* one. You will not come to help me, but to take full charge, having me to aid you in any manner you may desire. You will find an intelligent, informed people, considerate of their pastor's interest and welfare." It was this frank expression of his own views and feelings that removed any lingering hesitation I had felt in going to work among a people in association with a senior pastor, a people too who had never heard my voice, and whose estimate of myself was founded entirely upon the testimony of others. There was such a ring of sincerity in the subsequent correspondence with Dr. Wilkes that I felt that I was going to live and labour with one whose kindness and fairness were unmistakable.

"My first personal interview with him was on board the 'Moravian' at Quebec, on the 1st May of that year. The Church had considerately appointed a deputation to meet me and my family at Quebec, and Dr. Wilkes was one of the number, there being also a special reason for his then going to Quebec, inasmuch as his daughter, Miss Wilkes, was one of our party. I well remember how, after a most affectionate embrace of his beloved daughter, he turned to me and to my family, and gave us such a greeting that we all felt it an honour to be associated with one whose personal appearance so evidently bespoke integrity and candour, and whose expressions of interest in my future comfort and usefulness were so energetic and warm. There was something in the tone of his voice, in the straight look of his eye, in the glow which spread softly over his face, and in the firm grip of his hand, which made me at once feel safe and happy. I then, knowing nothing of the future, had not the slightest doubt but that, come what might, delicate as our personal and church relationships would be, nothing would be wanting on his part to render our work harmonious and pleasant. Of course, it was only human that we should observe him much on our voyage up the river, and on arrival at Montreal, it was most cheering to us strangers in a strange land, to notice the fatherly pleasure he took in variously ministering to our comfort, and the delight he had in the generous arrangements which the church had made for our accommodation, till we could find a permanent residence of our own.....

"Although we arrived in Montreal several days before the Sabbath, so

that it would have been possible for me to have been called upon to conduct public services at once, yet, with his accustomed kindness and readiness for doing good, he undertook charge of the preaching and worship for the day, that I might have full rest and become a little acquainted with my surroundings before entering on the duties of my new position. His form, even then venerable, I seem now to look upon, and his voice, subdued and tender, is still in my ears, as he pleaded with God for us and for the people. The installation services followed soon after, in which he took a prominent part, with no little interest. He was as one who felt that a great turning point in his own life and the church life of his people had now been reached, and there was mingled with his hopes for the future, gratitude to God that a crisis in the history of the church had thus far been safely passed."

CHAPTER XIII.

1871–1885.

It required a brave heart, in a man of Principal Wilkes' years (65), to undertake the herculean labour of preparing three or four full courses of lectures, on as many different subjects, with which to meet his classes, but he seems to have set about it with his characteristic industry and perseverance. For the first two or three sessions the work must have been very heavy. Indeed, few persons not accustomed to literary labour can comprehend the full import of the following statements:

"College duties were very onerous, though quite enjoyable. I had to prepare lectures on Systematic Theology, to the number of some hundred and twenty; on Biblical Introduction, to the number of sixty or more; on Ecclesiastical History, more than one hundred, though on this subject I used a text-book, and did not write so much. Then, Hermeneutics demanded some dozen lectures; Apologetics another series, besides other subjects. Thus my winters and my vacations, for several years, were busy seasons. Throughout the whole, and till now, I have continued my work as the representative of the Colonial Missionary Society, and as General Secretary-Treasurer of the Canada Congregational Missionary Society."

He appears, however, to have had boundless capacities for work. We well remember how he used to tax the powers of the members of the General Missionary Committee, by calling them together at six o'clock A.M., and sometimes again at ten o'clock at night, after the three sessions of the Union for the day were over, and how he could *outsit* every one of us, and be "fresh as a daisy" next morning! Occasionally some new member would remonstrate, and appeal for mercy, but it was seldom with any effect. "It must be done," he would say, and that would generally settle it. Hence the Union meeting

which was a "holiday" to many, was the reverse of that to him, and those acting upon the laborious Committee with which he chiefly had to do.

While he was thus busily occupied with his lectures, and preparing for the session of 1871–1872, he says:

"An application came to me from the Governors of McGill College, to afford aid in the session just opening, in teaching the classes in Mental and Moral Philosophy. Professor Forbes had died in Scotland, whither he had gone for the benefit of his health, about the middle of August, leaving no time whatever in which to obtain a successor. Principal Dawson had learned that I thought of giving lectures to our own students, on these subjects, in the absence of a Professor in McGill. Hence the application to me. ..... I consented, but found that the preparations I had made nearly thirty years before, were of comparatively little use, beyond a general acquaintance with the subjects. As a consequence, I had to toil daily in preparation, aye, and nightly too, as well as to keep up my classes in our own College, where I usually gave two lectures a day. My health was not injured, however, and I got through the session in a manner satisfactory to the Governors, whose vote of thanks was communicated."

It is possible, nevertheless, to overdo, and persons who, like Dr. Wilkes, hardly know what it is to be sick, are apt to think there is no limit to their powers of endurance. It is to be feared it was so in his case. By a vote of the College Corporation in 1871, the Principal was requested to spend a portion of his vacation, as Principal Lillie had done, in visiting the churches on behalf of the College, not with a view to collecting for its support, but rather to awaken interest in it, and seek out young men who might be desirous of studying for the Christian ministry. With the readiness to undertake any service to which his brethren called him, which was so marked a feature in his character, he at once consented, and at the close of the session of 1871-72 published a programme of twenty-two appointments in the Province of Ontario, for the month of May, beginning with Lanark and ending at London. Then, returning to the meetings of the Union in Montreal, he set out immediately after, or as soon as his correspondence

with the Colonial Committee would allow, to visit some of the principal churches in the Eastern Townships, and then on to the Maritime Provinces, where he advocated the claims of the College, in sermons or addresses, in fourteen other churches. The next spring he paid visits to most of the churches in Ontario, which he had been unable to reach the year before, but these, alas ! were the last.

"I reached Brantford," he says, "with pains in my limbs, and other indications of the rheumatism which has held me in its iron grip ever since' with times, of course, of comparative relief, and other times of severe pain. ..... My judgment now is, that I undertook far too much at my age, which was then 67. A medical friend, accounting for the disease, says, that such journeys, undertaken in all weathers, addressing public meetings, and driving to a temporary home, in an open carriage afterwards, and then occupying various kinds of beds, were things fitted to lay a foundation for future suffering. ..... I was too old for this kind of work : let my successors profit by my experience."

This visitation of the churches was, without doubt, productive of great good, and in more than one instance, led young men to enter our College, and join the ranks of our Canadian ministry, who have done excellent service, and who otherwise would probably have gone to some American college, and accepted a charge in the United States. It is matter for deep regret, however, if the good accomplished by it, was secured at so grievous a cost as the suffering and helplessness of the Principal, in his declining years, would seem to indicate. No one who has seen him when, like Eli, "he was an old man, and heavy," as he was wheeled along the street in his Bath chair, or was carried in the arms of two stalwart students, from his carriage to his chair in the class-room, could witness the spectacle without a feeling of intense sympathy for his condition. It was borne patiently and bravely, without a word of complaint, because he knew it was his Father's will, but there were lines of suffering in his countenance that told more plainly than words how much that self-controul cost him. The references in the "jottings" to his sufferings, and physical disablement, are very rare and brief.

During the winter of 1872–3, Mr. W. C. Smillie, then a member of Zion Church, but now of Poughkeepsie, N. Y., proposed to Dr. Wilkes to donate $5,000 towards an Endowment Fund of $20,000 for a Professorship of Theology, so soon as the balance of $15,000 should be raised and paid. On bringing this generous proposal before the annual meeting of the Corporation at Brantford, it was resolved to make the effort to raise $40,000, the second $20,000 to endow a Chair of Biblical Criticism and Literature. The first of these endowments was completed in 1880, not, however, without a large amount of correspondence on the part of the Principal, who was Treasurer of the Fund. Much of it, he notes sorrowfully, was "unsuccessful," yet there is reason to believe that the completion of the amount, as well as the progress made towards obtaining the second endowment of a similar amount, is very largely due to his indomitable energy and perseverance.

College opening in the autumn of 1873, was marked by the presence of a number of distinguished English Congregationalists, who had crossed the ocean to be present at the meeting of the Evangelical Alliance in New York. Brief addresses were given by Sir Charles Reed, Mr. Carvill Williams, the Rev. Dr. Stoughton, and the Revs. J. C. Harrison, A. McMillan, and J. F. Stevenson, afterwards the Principal of the College. The Alliance met a fortnight later, and the occasion being a very important one, Dr. Wilkes intermitted his labours for a few days, in order to attend its sessions in New York, and delivered an address at one of the "overflow" meetings. A branch of the Alliance was subsequently formed in Montreal, of which he was chosen President.

The hopes excited by the settlement of Mr. Chapman, whose ministry had begun so auspiciously, were, unhappily, not realized. The drift of the Protestant population of the city was westward, and Zion Church, whose members were continually removing in that direction, began to feel the effect

of the migration, in the diminished attendance, especially at the evening service. The preaching of the new pastor, moreover, while acknowledged, on all hands, to be most instructive and scholarly, was not to the taste of a certain section of the congregation, who finding it nearer, were dropping off, and connecting themselves with other churches. And, although their places were, to some extent, filled by English families recently arrived, the loss of a number of former friends naturally excited apprehension and inquiry as to the cause. In all such cases, the too ready solution of the question is found, by many persons, in the dulness, or delinquencies of the pastor. That was the solution of the problem offered here. What was to be done?

The unhappy difficulties which arose out of this condition of things, do not properly belong, perhaps, to a biography of one who took so little part in them, but for the sake of the connection, the following statements may be given:

"Even before my advent to Montreal," Mr. Chapman says, "friends deeply interested in the future of Congregationalism, had entertained the belief that an effort should be made to secure the conducting of public worship somewhere on the line of St. Catherine or Dorchester Street. This tendency of population westward, combined with a restlessness in the church, arising from various occult causes, brought to the front the question, as to whether the time had not come when the church, as a whole, should face the difficulty, and devise some scheme by means of which the changed conditions of life might be adequately met, and the ideal of Congregational advance be realized. To this end the Church Board made a report to the Church, on December 11th, 1872, in which, among other things, it is stated, 'that the Board have taken the important step of calling this special meeting, to hear from them a statement of their views and conclusions in reference to matters that deeply affect the future prospects and prosperity, not only of this church, but also of Congregationalism in this city. The conviction that the time would come for adopting the course recommended, has been gathering strength in the minds of many for years past, and they think that now the time has fully come for the change. It is the privilege of this church and congregation to enjoy pulpit ministrations of a very high order, and the most assiduous and faithful pastoral oversight. On every ground it is to be desired that the

scope of these valuable ministerial qualities for making their legitimate influence felt should be extended, and not be allowed to become contracted by changing circumstances which lie within the range of our power to meet.' Then, after alluding to a previous meeting at which the question was considered, the Report goes on to say,—'It was during the course of a protracted and earnest discussion on this subject, that the question was raised as to whether it would not be better for the future usefulness of the church, and most in harmony with the tendency of the population to leave the business parts of the city, to remove Zion Church to a position more central for the great bulk of the congregation, and more likely to stand well for the generation rising up. It was considered that the resident population immediately around the present building must become less every year,..... and, therefore, there was less chance every year of the church retaining its members, and still less of drawing in others. This view was strengthened by the fact that we are constantly losing people because of distance.' The Report further stated that a conference was held between the Trustees and the Board, at which a conclusion was unanimously, 'with one exception only' arrived at, that 'the time has arrived when it is not only expedient but necessary, that steps should be taken for the carrying out of the objects contemplated in the statement made to this meeting—namely, the disposal, by sale, of the site and building now held by Zion Church, and the securing of a site suitable for a new building in the Western part of the city.'"

Naturally, Dr. Wilkes' long connection with "Zion," and his arduous labours for its advancement, led him to cling to the old building, and to plead that that part of the city should not be forsaken, and many of the congregation sympathizing with that feeling, the proposals of the Board, although passed, with only a few dissentients, were never carried out.

But the question was not allowed to rest. Matters were in a ferment, and at length, when appeal was made to the co-pastors, Dr. Wilkes says,—

"We recognized the facts of the case, and advised the effort to form another congregation up-town, and for this purpose to seek another minister who, with Mr. Chapman, should preach alternately in each place of worship. The church, after several meetings and mature consideration, resolved to adopt our suggestion, it being understood that, ultimately, we should have two central churches, each having its own pastor."

The experiment was tried. The Rev. J. F. Stevenson, LL.B., whose appearance in the pulpit a short time previously had produced such a favourable impression, was invited to become associate pastor with Mr. Chapman, and accepted the invitation, and on the 20th of September, 1874, was duly installed. The Gymnasium was secured for the use of the second congregation, and the services were held by the pastors alternately, as previously arranged for, but the plan was not a success.

Suffering from the rheumatic affection already referred to, which, after trying many remedies, was nothing bettered, but rather grew worse, and feeling the need of rest and change, in the spring of 1874, Dr. Wilkes, accompanied by his wife, once more visited England and the Continent. A very few details only will be given of his trip. Leaving home early in April, he attended the sessions of the Scottish Congregational Union, which he greatly enjoyed, meeting with many old friends, and presenting the greetings of the sister Union in Ontario and Quebec. At Halifax he met, by appointment, and at the request of the deacons of Zion Church, Mr. Stevenson (to whom a call had been sent), for the purpose of offering any information he might desire, in order to his arriving at an intelligent decision regarding it. In London he attended the meetings of the English Union, the Colonial Missionary Society, at which he spoke, and also the anniversary of the Bible Society, at which he notes, he "saw good Dr. Moffatt," who had just returned from South Africa.

While in England, he says,—

"I carried circulars with me, and used the post diligently for the Endowment Fund of the College. Miss Baxter, of Dundee, sent me £20 in response, Mr. Samuel Morley, and Mr. J. Remington Mills, and Mr. Henry Lee, sent £50 each, my friend, Mr. Sommerville, of Bitton, subscribed £100, and before I got through, my list of generous donations was a long one, reaching ultimately to nearly $3000, the expenses of collecting which were less than £15."

A few days were spent at the Hydropathic Establishments at Melrose and Richmond Park; apparently, however, with-

out any marked benefit to health. In Wales, somewhere near Conway Castle, he met the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone returning from church, concerning whom he says, "How I should like to have conversed with him, but had no opportunity," and adds his estimate of him as "a consummate statesman, a brilliant orator, and a thoroughly honest and christian man."

It is well, sometimes, to see ourselves as others see us, and among those with whom he met in his travels we must not omit to mention "our candid friend"—an English Congregational minister—who "seemed to take a great interest in the Colonies, but complained that in looking over the proceedings of our Union, from year to year, he failed to discover evidence of much *power* among our brethren." Well, really that is too bad! And he staying in England yet! But after all, is it much to be wondered at, even if it be true, that Great Britain, with her fifteen well-equipped Colleges, and four thousand churches, can show men of more "power" than our Canadian churches with their one College? Lest our brethren be utterly cast down by our friend's estimate of us, we quote *per contra*, one sentence from the letter of the Rev. J. L. Poore, after his visit to Canada, in 1865,—"I found the *ministers*, in general, *abler men* than I expected." * (The italics are his.) That from an English brother, who was distinguished for candour, and who says in the same letter, he came "having business to transact, and failures to detect," ought surely to allay our disquiet.

On another occasion, after preaching at Highgate, a lady who had heard him, said she supposed that the discourses he had given them, would not, of course, do for Montreal, or Canada generally, because of lack of education and intelligence in those regions!

"I assured her," says the Doctor, "that they were sermons that had first been prepared for, and delivered to my congregation in Montreal, and

* *Canadian Independent*, September, 1865.

that she would find the average intelligence and culture of our city quite equal to that of London or England."

Several weeks were spent on the Continent, after which, returning to London, he preached for Dr. Allon, at Canonbury, and then proceeded to Huddersfield, to the autumnal meeting of the Congregational Union, where he was to preach the annual sermon.

"The Committee of the Union, instigated by my friend Hannay, had given me this appointment in June, as a mark of respect. It was a great honour to have such a duty laid upon one. It seems to have been regarded as a successful effort. The attention was most marked. ..... The congratulations and thanks from gentlemen, strangers to me, were very gratifying. ..... There must have been more force, and strength of voice, than is usual in the case of a man 69 years of age, for in a sketch of the preacher, sent to London by one of the reporters for the press, I am described as Dutch-built, hair iron-grey, and age verging on sixty. ..... The sermon was printed in the *Christian World Pulpit*."

Having fulfilled this appointment, they sailed three days afterwards from Liverpool, in the SS. "Sarmatian," for Quebec, and reached home again towards the end of October.

In a letter dated London, June, 1874, addressed to the writer, who was then Missionary Superintendent, Dr. Wilkes, after referring to his anticipated delay in England, says,—

"I have written to Mr. Chapman, Chairman of the College Board, suggesting a plan by which the students may be carried forward until I return, Oct. 25th, without interfering with the details of the curriculum, except as to their *order*, for a few weeks. And I write you, that there may be no delay in bringing out the annual Report of our Missionary Society, and thus of the 'Year Book,' which, by the way, has won golden opinions here."

Immediately, therefore, on reaching home, he plunged into his College work, making up for lost time by increased effort for the remainder of the session.

During his absence in England, the ferment in Zion Church had steadily progressed, and shortly after his return, the crisis was reached, with the result he had feared, "a breaking up in dear old Zion Church." On the 11th of March, 1875, the

following letter, with one hundred and eleven names attached, was addressed to the pastors and members of the church:

"Dear Brethren,—The course of events has brought us to a point at which we hear the voice of duty calling upon us to address ourselves to the new enterprise that lies before us. It remains, therefore, for us whose names are hereunto subscribed, to give notice, as we hereby do, that on the date above mentioned, we withdraw from the fellowship of Zion Church, for the purpose of forming a new Congregational church, under the pastoral care of the Rev. J. F. Stevenson. We, further, beg to assure you that we shall rejoice in all the prosperity and success that may be vouchsafed to you, in your church relationships and undertakings."

On the following Lord's Day, after the morning service, they were duly organized under the designation of "Emmanuel Church," Dr. Wilkes giving an address, and invoking the Divine blessing on the newly formed flock and its pastor. All questions relating to church property were referred to a joint-committee, and were amicably arranged, and the new congregation set itself vigorously to work to erect for itself a place of worship, which, however, was not completed and dedicated till January, 1877, just three weeks after the opening of "Calvary" church, in the same city.

While wishing the new enterprise all prosperity, however, the aged pastor remained with the old flock,—"dear old Zion Church"—which he never ceased to regard with the tenderest fatherly affection. Mr. Chapman says,—

"After the resettlement of the church under its former arrangement of one acting pastor, and the pastor *emeritus*, Dr. Wilkes continued to sustain the same relation to myself in the ordinary services as before, only his attendance at the meetings of the diaconate were not so uniform. With all loyalty he brought his personal influence to bear on promoting the spiritual growth of the church, and took a lively interest in the various organizations that, from time to time, were either formed or developed. He also continued his kindly attentions to the sick, and, in my occasional absence from the pulpit, conducted the public services with his accustomed vigour. At the same time, he did not cease to be practically a pastor to those who had left to form the new church, when any of them were suffering from sickness or adversity. He would not allow any differences of

judgment and action, in reference to recent affairs, to interfere with his kindly attention to old friends. He loved them still for old acquaintance sake, as, also, for the sake of the dear Master whom he and they sought, along different lines, to serve. The healing influence of his presence in the city, and of his generous spirit was a great blessing to both churches. He did much in Zion Church by his kindly feeling to tone down any elements of resentment that may have been generated by past events. He was truly a peacemaker and a lover of all good men, and mindful of the fact that we are none of us so perfect as to be warranted in sitting in infallible judgment upon those who differ from us."

After attending the meeting of the Union in Hamilton, most of the summer of 1875 was spent in the West, part of the time visiting his daughter and son-in-law, the Rev. Mr. (now Dr.) Gibson, who had removed to Chicago, and part in seeking relief and health in the use of electric and galvanic baths, from which, however, he obtained no appreciable benefit. The return trip, by way of the lakes to Collingwood, and down the St. Lawrence, was greatly enjoyed.

Passing over the winter's work, which, of course, varied but little from one session to another, the next year witnessed very important changes. The Congregational Union met in Zion Church,—as it proved, for the last time,—and Mr. Chapman, who had been elected Chairman the previous year, delivered not only the usual retiring address, but also his farewell to the Union and to the country, he having received and accepted a pressing invitation to the Presidency of the Western College, in Plymouth. This step was not taken because of discouragement at the prospect before Zion Church, which was then bright and promising. Dr. Wilkes says,—

"The church gave him a handsome testimonial, and parted with much regret from a man of thorough ability, sound learning, and true godliness of life and character. Without any unnatural struggle the church was, at this time, paying its way, notwithstanding that my retiring allowance, Mr. Chapman's salary, and at least a part of the Shaftesbury Hall minister's salary, were paid out of current income. The church was harmonious in feeling and in action, and most liberal in its giving."

The invitation was an "utter surprise" to Mr. Chapman, who says,—

"Before saying a word to anyone, I felt that both duty and christian instinct required that I should lay the whole matter before Dr. Wilkes. It was a painful thing to do. ..... When I had finished a statement of the whole case, and had answered all his enquiries, he said with suppressed emotion, 'Well, yes, I see you will have to go. I cannot stand in the way. It is right. You are made for that kind of work. I shall be very sorry to part with you.' There was something in the tone, in the look, and in the firm grip of the hand, which told me of the deep struggle within, and of the honest regard for the widest interests of Christ's Kingdom, irrespective of personal considerations. He was the same man I had known and loved all these years in his sterling integrity and regard for what he believed to be best for the Master's glory. I left him that day with a sorrowful heart, but with a deep impression of his unselfishness and large mindedness. Tender and hallowed were the communings of the few months that followed prior to my departure for England. With the remarkable mental vigour for which he was so well known, he applied himself to face the new situation that would be created, and with the calm trust in an over-ruling Providence, which marked his long life, he awaited the unknown cares and vicissitudes of the future. True man of God, faithful friend, dear to many hearts, the joy and solace of a fellow-labourer's life when sorrows came, blessed be God for the gift of thy earthly life!"

In view of the events that so quickly followed, one is disposed to say of that 20th of June, when Mr. Chapman turned his face towards England, what a sorely tried man once said of the day of his birth,—"Let that day be darkness: let not God regard it from above, neither let the light shine upon it." Although knowing nothing, of course, of what was coming, Dr. Wilkes seems to have had an almost prophetic foreboding of impending disaster; and well, indeed, he might! We have invoked the darkness, and therefore we will not tell the sorrowful story of the wreck and ruin of the noblest Congregational church Canada yet has seen—the life-work of a noble and devoted man—and all through calling to the pastorate an "eloquent" man, into whose antecedents it was not thought

to be necessary to look! Unhappily it is not the only case of the kind that has occurred. Perhaps it is the latest; may it be the last!

Yet, as we write, Zion Church still lives, not only in the noble ministries of pastor and people in the years gone by, and the "fruit gathered unto life eternal," but revived and resuscitated! Homeless and sorrowing, may the Lord graciously look upon her, and under a faithful ministry, "restore again to her the years that the locust hath eaten, that she may eat in plenty, and be satisfied, and praise the name of the Lord her God that hath dealt wondrously with her."

Meanwhile Dr. Wilkes' malady steadily progressed, notwithstanding that everything was done that medical skill could suggest to alleviate or remove it. One summer he went to Winchester Springs, and drank its waters, and another summer he tried the hot baths at the Caledonia Springs, receiving no permanent benefit from either. At last it became apparent that the case was beyond medical aid, the thigh bone having, through inflammation, grown to the socket, and forever stiffened the joint. During much of this process, the suffering had been extreme, and locomotion almost impossible. Happily, towards its termination, the pain gradually became less severe, until abnormal action ceased, and the suffering was at an end. By this time, however, he was so disabled and helpless, that he could move about only on crutches, and then only with the greatest difficulty, and required assistance whenever he sat down or rose from his chair. To get either up or down stairs was a movement so painful and tedious, that it would have had to be abandoned altogether, had it not been that some kind friends, sympathizing with their aged pastor's infirmities, bethought them of a way to assist him, and had an "elevator" put into his dining-room for a Christmas present, by the aid of which he could wind himself up or let himself down, at pleasure. A horse and phæton had also been procured, without which he must have given up going out almost entirely. Even

then, a kind of platform or inclined plain, had to be devised, that could be doubled up and carried in the phæton with him, or he could rarely have made use of it.

With all these difficulties in the way, it was a constant wonder to his friends how he got about as he did. Yet he was always in his place in the house of God, and often preaching or assisting at public meetings, or on committees; although, of course, on such occasions, he was now compelled to speak, or pray, in a sitting posture. Up to the year 1883, he was almost invariably at the meeting of the Union. He loved the brotherhood, and felt it to be a sore privation when he could no longer go up with them to our solemn feasts.

Usually, too, he took his summer's "outing," one season at Cacouna, another at Poughkeepsie, with Mr. and Mrs. Smillie, or with the Dougalls, at Brooklyn, or with his old College friend Judge Dunkin, at Knowlton, and sometimes with several of these during the same summer. Wherever he went he preached as opportunity offered, for he loved to preach, and friends loved to listen to him; and even when his ailment was at its worst, and his disabled condition most keenly felt, he never declined an invitation to the settlement of a young pastor, especially if one of his own students, if he could possibly render the service asked of him. Thus, in June, 1878, he attended the ordination of Mr. A. F. McGregor, at Listowel, and of Mr. W. H. Warriner, at Yorkville, at a cost of personal discomfort and physical suffering, that was painful to behold. "I was very lame," he says, referring to these occasions, "and found it hard work to get about."

In October, 1878, he completed the fiftieth year of his public ministry, that is, as he explains,—

"My first sermon, though at the time I was only a student, was preached at Govan, in Scotland, in October, 1828, and preaching continued thenceforward. Happening to mention this fact one day, it was at once suggested (what I had not thought of) that a Jubilee sermon and service be held in Zion Church. The proposal met with warm approval, and on

Sunday, October 13th, the service was held. The pulpit and space in front, were beautifully decorated with flowers, and the most remarkable congregation to which I ever preached, was gathered together that morning. The church was filled, a large portion of the audience being aged men and women, and members of all denominations in the city, even Roman Catholics were present. ..... The sermon, a sketch of the proceedings, and the remarks of the press, both in Montreal and elsewhere, were collected into a pamphlet and published."

In the account of the service which accompanies the sermon, the writer says,—

"The love and affection which the congregation bear for their aged pastor was exemplified in many ways. There were to be seen in all parts of the building the snow-white locks of men and women, who for over forty years, had been cheered in their battle with the world by the kind advice of Dr. Wilkes, which was always at their command. Beside them sat their children and their grand-children, all there to do honour to God's servant. His love and anxiety for the welfare of his flock, and especially of the young, were proverbial. None went to him in trouble that did not come away calm, and with renewed strength to face their difficulties." .....

A copy of this pamphlet having reached his old friend, Dr. Lindsay Alexander, of Edinburgh, the latter acknowledges the receipt of it in the following characteristic note :

PINKIEBURN.

MUSSELBURGH, NORTH BRITAIN, 16th August, 1880.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Sometime ago I received a copy of the 'Jubilee Services,' held on occasion of your fiftieth anniversary, for which I am indebted, if not to yourself, to some kind friend near you. I wish I could have been present with you on that interesting occasion. Your sermon has called up to me many pleasant reminiscences of former times, and had I been with you, wouldn't I have told the people some things that would have come well enough from me, but which you could not so well tell about yourself? As it is, let me add my congratulations to those of your other friends. It is a great thing, after fifty years of hard work, to be thus in a condition to receive the congratulations of friends: it is still greater to know that these congratulations are not mere words of course, or empty courtesy, but are the sincere expressions of regard and estimation, because of character highly sustained, and work nobly done, during that long period.

The portrait prefixed to the pamphlet presents you as in full vigour, notwithstanding the hard work of these many years. I trust there is the promise there of years of still further service ere the Master bids you cease from your labours. I understand you are, like myself, somewhat disabled in the *lower* understanding. Well, that is a trial; it does impede one, and somewhat hinders work, but so long as the upper story remains sound, and its furniture unimpaired, there is a good deal of right good work to be done by those who are desirous thereof. This I know you are, and while I say 'Erge!' I say also 'Perge!' and may the Lord help and bless you in your work! ..... They have also created me 'Principal.' This was against my own wish, but they were determined to be like the nations around them, and so I had to give in. Somehow or other 'Principal Alexander' doesn't sound well, and I never so designate myself, and feel a sort of *scunner* when other people so designate me. The position itself, nevertheless, I like, and I trust some good work is being done in our Institution.....

And now, dear old friend, farewell! We may not meet again in this world, but if through grace we are admitted into the House not made with hands, there will be long years of blessed fellowship for us under nobler conditions than any we could have here.

Yours very truly,

W. LINDSAY ALEXANDER."

They never met again until both had crossed the river of death. Dr. Alexander died December 20, 1884.

The following extracts from the daily press of Montreal, referring to the Jubilee Services, will show the respect and esteem in which Dr. Wilkes was held.

The *Gazette* says,—"We heartily join our congratulations to those of a very large circle of friends and admirers by whom Dr. Wilkes is loved and revered. It is the lot of few ministers to have spent half a century in the service of their master, and not many have been so singularly blessed in their work as Dr. Wilkes has been. For the greater part of that time his name has been as a household word to the members of his own church, while he has also deservedly won the esteem and confidence of large numbers belonging to other denominations. Two generations have listened to his words of love, of warning, of sympathy. ..... He has taken a distinguished share in all those works of benevolence, in all those efforts for the public good, in which persons of different creeds may co-operate..... By the inhabitants of Montreal, without distinction as to religion, he is esteemed and beloved."....

The *Star* says,—"Possibly no minister in Canada is better known, or more deservedly respected by his fellow-workers of other churches, and these will, one and all, watch with interest the golden-wedding—the Jubilee of the Rev. Doctor's long and successful ministerial career."....

And even *La Minerve*, devotedly Romanist and ultra-montane as it is, refers to the "touching anniversary celebrated last Sunday in Zion Church," and remarks,—

"Although we do not belong to the creed of the Rev. Doctor, we may bear testimony to the esteem and affection which he enjoys among his own people, as well as among intelligent persons of all sects. His career has been one of ample labour. Through his high-mindedness and large views, he has rendered his social relations as agreeable as they are useful, and he reaps, in his old age, the fruits of a long life of labour and charity."

It is not surprising, therefore, in view of such general expressions of esteem and affection, that when a testimonial of a substantial character was proposed, many persons not belonging to his own congregation desired to contribute towards it; and to meet the wish of such, and to afford an opportunity for friends in Britain to participate in it, the matter was delayed for some months. When completed, however, it amounted to the handsome sum of $8084, which was duly presented to him with many hearty good wishes and congratulations.

The presentation took place in Emmanuel Church, February 24, 1881, and was made by Dr. Cornish, in the presence of a large number of the subscribers, and of the pastors of churches in the city; and in doing so he spoke as follows:—

"My dear Dr. Wilkes,—It affords me sincere satisfaction to be the medium, on so notable an occasion as this, of tendering to you, on the behalf of your friends and fellow-citizens, their congratulations and tokens of respect and esteem. On many grounds is the occasion notable; but chiefly because it is the lot of but few public men, especially in a new country where chance and change are so frequent, to pursue their career for well-nigh half a century in the same place, and ministering to the same people. To still fewer is the happiness granted of doing this with growing success and approbation as the years roll on. Such, however, has been your happy lot, as a public man and a minister of the Gospel in this community; a fact which the proceedings of this evening testify more clearly than any words of mine could do. To the loyal minister of the Gospel of

Christ, the approval of the Master whom he serves is the highest meed of honour and reward that he looks forward to. Next to that, comes the approbation of his own conscience, springing from a well-assured conviction that, however poor and imperfect may have been his service, his dominant motive has been to do it faithfully, and 'by manifestation of the truth commending himself to every man's conscience in the sight of God.' Yet, in ministers even there is much of human nature; and it is, therefore, no matter for wonder that they should, like other men, be sensitive to the opinions which others may form of their character and of their work. There is, moreover, in society a keen discernment of moral worth and of unselfish service, and ofttimes a readiness to appreciate and recognize these good qualities in a public man;—and in your case, I am happy to think, has this found an exemplification. For nearly fifty years, your face has been among the most familiar and best known in this community, and you have been willing during all that time to give your ready services to your fellow-citizens, not in the pulpit only, but in all other public ways in which a minister of the Gospel can, compatibly with his high calling, promote the interests of his country. Nor has this service, so cheerfully rendered on your part, been overlooked or unappreciated by those on whose behalf it has been done. And now in your declining years, and when your work is near its close, those who have long known your character and the value of that work, have felt it to be their duty, as well as their privilege, to give public expression to the regard they have for you, and that too, in a way which they trust will do something to add to the brightness and comfort of your remaining days. It is, I am sure, the sincere desire of each and all that these days may yet be many, and that as the shadows of life's even-tide gather around you, they may be made bright by the felt presence of Him whom you have loved and served so long, and cheered by the growing respect and esteem of all among whom you live. As a token of the strength of this respect for you, in the past and to-day, I have the honour to request you to accept this Testimonial, which has been freely given by your numerous friends in the Mother country and in this city, and in divers parts of this Dominion and the United States;—given, too, with oft-expressed wishes that all that is good and blessed may ever surround your path."

In reply, the Rev. Dr. Wilkes spoke as follows:—

"Dr. Cornish,—I thank you, the Committee, and the many friends you represent, for this munificent Testimonial.

My first impression is the faithfulness and loving kindness of God. No one need be afraid of laying himself out in service rendered in His name,

on behalf of his fellow-men, without any reference to pecuniary reward. Let him trust in the Lord and do good, and verily he shall be fed. The money value of this gift is large, and by no means unacceptable to myself and family, especially at a time when circumstances, over which we have had no control, have caused considerable diminution of a moderate income, and when also the bread-winner has passed beyond the three score years and ten; and yet, let me say that the reports which have reached me of the readiness, the cheerfulness, and the liberality of the response made to the application of the Committee and its officers, raise this gift far above any money value, and exhibit it as such a testimony of regard, as constitutes it a precious reward for such services as I have been enabled to render in the cause of truth and righteousness during 55 years. .....

Rather more than one-fourth of the amount of this Testimonial has been contributed by friends in England. The Secretary and the Treasurer of the Colonial Missionary Society, and my former associate, Rev. Professor Chapman, have taken great pains in this matter. I thank them and the contributors most heartily. For a period of 45 years have I had the confidence and regard of that Society while acting for them here. Two years ago, the Committee sent me a beautifully illuminated address on the 50th anniversary of my ministry. What a pleasure it is to serve the Master in association with such a Christian brotherhood.

A word in conclusion. Let it not be deemed egotism—I do not mean it as such, but rather as a testimony to an important practical principle, when, in my old age, I say that I have never, since my entrance into the Christian ministry, toiled for money, or for position, or for fame, but simply have sought to lay myself out for usefulness. One has his reward in the consciousness of doing good to one's fellow-men, and thus pleasing the Lord. Through His great mercy and by His blessing I have not lacked anything, and then He has prolonged my life and has permitted me to reap! The knowledge of no little good done has been afforded me; and He has given to me what I have already assured you I value very highly indeed, the confidence, the regard, and, in many instances, the warm affection of my fellow-citizens, and of my fellow-Christians here and elsewhere, of which this Testimonial is the graceful and generous evidence."

In May, 1881, Dr, Wilkes felt constrained, in consequence of growing infirmities, to tender his resignation of the Principalship of the College, which he had now held for eleven years past. At the earnest request of the Board, however, he continued to act in that capacity until the appointment of the Rev.

Dr. Stevenson, in June, 1883. His work as Professor of Systematic Theology was never relinquished till within a few days of his death.

The story of Dr. Wilkes' connection with Zion Church would hardly be complete without some mention of the failure of the church, after its wreck by Mr. Chapman's successor, to pay the annuity of $1000 pledged to him, on his retiring from the active pastorate. Against their failure the Colonial Committee vigorously protested, as did almost everyone on this side of the Atlantic, with the exception of the man most interested in the matter,—the aged pastor himself. He alone could excuse it. What grieved him far more than any personal loss was the scattering of the flock, and the sale of the church property to meet deficits and liabilities very largely resulting from the delinquencies of the pastor. In some sense this may be regarded as having been the grief of his life. It almost broke his heart.

In the month of March, 1884, he presided at a meeting of friends interested in the resuscitation of Zion Church. When introducing the business of the evening, he spoke, with deep feeling, of his personal attachment for the church.

"He had," he said, "spent some forty years of the best of his life as its pastor, and had come to look upon the congregation as his own family. He could not help recalling the time when Zion Church had been a grand centre for the dissemination of truth in the city; when it had been looked up to by those engaged or interested in the spread of the pure Gospel. Collectively the congregation was respected, while the pastor and officers of the church were honoured by all. In those days, the church entered actively into the works of charity and benevolence which characterize an organization maintained for the glory of God. The sick were visited, the Gospel was preached to the poor, the distressed were relieved, and the weeping consoled. He would not single out any individual as the cause, but all could see that these glories of old 'Zion' had completely disappeared within the past three or four years. ..... He understood that an effort was now to be made to get the church within the old lines of doctrine and order from which it had strayed, or he would not have been

present. Unless the congregation were determined to have their church a monument of the pure faith delivered to the saints, he would have nothing to do in the matter, while, if they were in this wholesome mind, nothing would give him greater pleasure than to assist them."

It was suggested that the best way of resuscitating the congregation, would be for Dr. Wilkes to allow himself to be nominated as pastor, and he was accordingly asked to do so; to which he replied, that he was about entering his eightieth year, and was very infirm, but that he would think over the matter. Ultimately he consented, and occupied that position, preaching as occasion required, until the settlement of Mr. McIntyre, later on in the same year.

In September, 1881, he was called to part with his eldest son, John Aston Wilkes, who died very suddenly. It was a very sore trial to him. Writing with reference to this event to a friend who had also been bereaved, he says,—

"Thus are we taught by our Father in heaven the uncertainty and fleeting nature of the earthly, and at the same time to exercise faith in the unseen and eternal. *There* is no uncertainty—nothing fleeting. The things that are with us now, having simple relation to the present life, are shaken, and they pass away, but we hold the grip of the things which cannot be shaken, and which remain. We pray that these bereavements may be so sanctified to us, that the grip of the spiritual and eternal may be firmer, and that we may walk by faith as seeing Him who is invisible."...

The following year the Lord caused him to forget, in part, his sorrow, in the joy of gaining another son by the marriage of his youngest daughter, Amelia, to Mr. Thomas H. Lonsdale, of Montreal.

Among the few public ministerial acts performed during these quiet closing years of his busy life, were the following: In September, 1882, he assisted in the service in Emmanuel church, in connection with the inauguration of Mr. Hall's work, as Missionary Superintendent.

On the occasion of the ordination and settlement of Mr. Edward M. Hill, in the pastorate of Calvary church, Montreal, in September (13th) 1883, he presided as Moderator of

the Council, and delivered the charge to the pastor. And again, in the following month, he performed a similar service in Emmanuel church, at the ordination of Mr. John McKinnon to the work of an Evangelist.

In May, 1881, the "jottings" suddenly cease, and for over five years no entry is made. There was not much, indeed, to record, beyond the routine of College work in the winter, and his summer sojournings with friends, or at some quiet retreat on the St. Lawrence, or by the sea. His general health continued good, and even improved as he neared fourscore, and in the summer in which he reached that allotted age of man, he occupied the pulpit of Emmanuel church for four consecutive Sundays, spending the intervening weeks at Lachine. The stiffness of his limbs was painful to see, but all suffering had ceased, and two or three years before his death, he was able, to his infinite delight, to resume the standing posture while preaching, requiring only to lean upon the pulpit, or upon his crutch.

CHAPTER XIV.

1886.

ONCE more to England! At eighty-one years of age, and compassed about with infirmities such as have just been described, is it not folly to attempt it?—is it not impossible? It seemed so to many, but to our venerable friend, with his indomitable pluck and energy, while somewhat hazardous, it was not felt to be impracticable. He thoroughly believed in the old adage, "where there's a will there's a way," and having carefully thought the matter all over, he resolved to go.

Under date of Halifax, Yorkshire, Sept. 10, 1886, he resumes his "jottings," on "a rainy morning," and thus describes the process by which he reached the final resolve.

"For several years my health had been excellent, and though unable to walk far, yet what I did was without pain. It was not unnatural that one should recur, in 1886, to the fact, that fifty years before, we had formed the Colonial Missionary Society in London, and that this was its Jubilee year. The question arose in one's mind, as to the practicability of once more visiting the Father-land, and at its Jubilee, telling the friends of the Society what their fathers had done, and what had been accomplished in Canada, by their means, during half a century. Then I had a longing desire to see once more my daughter Lucy and her husband, with my three grandchildren. Further, my dear wife's health was very unsatisfactory—she was feeble, and needed such 'toning up' as it might be hoped that a couple of sea voyages, and some months' enjoyment of her native air might afford. ..... The dear wife hesitated, and was not sanguine, but was willing to make the trial, so after much consideration, and some trepidation, we resolved to go."

Having arranged to go by way of New York direct to London, that route involving the fewest changes, they left Montreal on the 14th of April, spent a day or two in New York, where he met Mr. John Dougall and other friends*; and sailed for

* Dr. Wilkes' notes,—"Our last interview with him. On the 19th August, while at breakfast, in the house of his son, at Flushing, L. I., he fell over and was gone! A man of many and various gifts and graces. Wholly devoted to the good, and pure, and true. A loyal servant of Christ, and a most zealous philantropist, especially on the Temperance question."

London on the SS. "Grecian Monarch," and after a somewhat long but pleasant voyage, reached their destination on the 1st May. A severe cold contracted on board brought on bronchitis and asthma, necessitating medical attendance immediately on landing. At first the case looked as if it might be serious, but with wonderful recuperative powers, under the blessing of God he was soon about again.

The first time he ventured out was on the 11th of May, when he went to the City Temple, to the meeting of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. The church was crowded.

"After the Chairman's Address (Rev. Edward White)," he says, "Dr. Hannay introduced the delegates from other Unions, the only two present being respectively from Canada and New Zealand. In relation to the former he referred to the pluck of an octogenarian, crippled in the matter of locomotion, venturing across the Atlantic to visit them, fifty years after his designation in London to the work in Canada. On rising to address the assembly, leaning on my crutch, and with walking-stick in my right hand, I was much affected by an outburst of cheering, and the spontaneous rising up of the whole assembly to greet me."

And then he adds, with characteristic modesty,—

"Some people, I know, complain that they are not appreciated: if I complain at all, it is that I and my work have been, and are appreciated very much more highly than they deserve. I had no expectation of an ovation like this, but one may be grateful to God, and I trust I am so, for the affectionate regard of my brethren.

After conveying the greetings of the Canadian Congregational churches, and adverting to Colonial Missions, and the Jubilee of the Society formed in connection with the Union fifty years ago, I felt constrained, as an old man, to bear testimony to the loving kindness and faithfulness of God, and to express my conviction, that while there were many things that could be shaken and must pass away, the great facts and truths of our common Christianity, and the Divine promises concerning his Kingdom on earth, can never be shaken, and will remain; and that the great work of ministering in this kingdom is the noblest, and the most blessed, that can occupy the intellect and the heart of man."

Many were the thanks and congratulations received at the

close of his address, the special interest in which he again attributes to "the advanced years of the speaker." None the less was it an inspiration and an encouragement to many who heard it.

On Thursday, the 13th of May, he attended the Jubilee meeting of the Colonial Missionary Society in Park Chapel, Camden-town, (the Rev. J. C. Harrison's). The venerable James Spicer, for so many years Treasurer of the Society, occupied the chair. The Report read by the Rev. W. S. H. Fielden, after contrasting the condition of the Colonies socially and religiously in 1836, with that of 1886, thus refers to Dr. Wilkes' visit.

"When this Society was formed, who could have expected the presence at its 'Jubilee' meeting, of the first Agent and minister sent forth to labour in the Colonial field? We heartily congratulate the venerable Dr. Wilkes on the vigour and courage which have inspired his determination to be with us to-night! What a retrospect he has! Memories of service rendered, and comrades who have gone before! What stories he could tell, if time permitted, of the lives and deeds of the fathers and founders of Colonial Congregationalism in two hemispheres! 'His eye is not dim, nor his natural force abated.' After fifty Canadian winters—having passed the 'four-score' years—he still is ready and eager for every good word and work, in the pulpit, in the College, and in the Mission field. Your Committee warmly greet their old friend, and congratulate him on his years and honours, spent and won in the service of Christ. They need not ask for him a cordial welcome and a kindly hearing, as he pleads once more the needs and claims of Canada."

Dr. Wilkes—a little anomalously—moved the adoption of the Report, in an address of considerable length, in which he indicated, under separate heads, the work which had been done in Canada, in connection with the Society, since he went out there, immediately on its formation in 1836. And with his usual thoughtfulness for the College, he suggested the Endowment Fund as one of the ways in which persons of means could assist in our Canadian work,—a quiet reference which brought at least one valuable contribution of £100. His

appearance, and advocacy of the claims of the Colonies on the British churches, evidently produced a deep impression.

Dr. Duff, of Airedale College, who sends us some very pleasant reminiscences of his former tutor, which will be found in the Appendix, says of this occasion,—

"That the veteran of eighty years should have crossed the Atlantic was a wonder, yet it was a fulfilment of a promise made playfully to the English Union, in Huddersfield, twelve years before. It seemed an impossibility, until, at Hampstead, there he was, scarce different from himself of twenty years before. It was a strange joy to sit in communion with him and Principal Chapman,—the three former colleagues of the Canadian School. It was a grand sight, two days later, to see him welcomed to England by the Union that had sent him out fifty years before. They rose and stood before him. He leaned upon his staff and spoke, the white head seeming a mark of sacred presence, while the dark eyebrows, still jet in old age, seemed to flash fire over us all. He told us his most emphatic word must be, that it was the Union that had sent forth the first Colonial missionaries. The whole body of the English churches, no small handful of them, no limited Society, but all in Union assembled were responsible for their preachers and pastors in the Colonies. Therefore all must help, and stand by the new or the feeble churches in the Colonies to-day. He waxed eloquent indeed, as he turned to speak of his age and work, and finished with the cry, 'I have served all these sixty years. I do not grudge one of them.' Then he spoke with solemn voice a charge to each younger life before him, and ended with thanksgiving, saying, 'now unto Him that is able to establish you according to this gospel and the preaching of Jesus Christ,—to the only wise God, through Jesus Christ,—to him be the glory for ever. Amen.'

That was a solemn hour. The voices of good men from the generations past spoke across the years through this, their lone survivor.

The Jubilee meeting of the Colonial Society next day was a rare feast, because Dr. Wilkes was its speaker. Far beyond an hour he stood, and held all happy, satisfied by his story of the Society's formation, and of his early and late, long and weary, troubled or successful toils up and down the St. Lawrence. A few days ago there came into my hands, in our College Library in Bradford, the first Reports of the Colonial Society. They are like romances. Much of them should be again in our hands to-day, to be read for inspiration by all in our Canadian and English pulpits.

These Jubilee Services were not all the work that the aged man helped on in England a year ago. He preached often, in many a place visiting the old scenes where he had journeyed with Mr. Binney to plead for the Colonies in 1836. At one of these places, in Horton Lane Chapel, in Bradford, he addressed a large united assembly concerning the Colonial churches, and revived the old and decaying interest. There wrote soon afterwards one of the foremost men of business among our English churches to-day, 'If Dr. Wilkes would stay in England and take charge of our Colonial Society, its management and work would be a new and grand success.'

But that was not to be. The old man smiled himself at the dream; for even at eighty he counted on a winter of scholarly lectures, happier perhaps than all the past, because fuller of remembrance of the half century of toil so singularly complete. Half a century was he to look back upon? Far more, for when twelve years ago we asked him to give a lecture at a 'Parlour-meeting' in the Y.M.C. Association's Rooms, on 'Business in Montreal Forty Years Ago,' he said, 'Gladly will I come—if you carry me, of course—but it must be rather of 'Montreal *Fifty* Years Ago.'' In 1826 he was a partner in the important firm of Messrs. Torrance, and the profits and pleasures of a young man so early successful he laid down or rather offered up, that for the next sixty years he might heal troubled hearts and help timid feet Godwards.

He sailed back across the ocean, after farewells that wer etears of fear lest we should see his face no more. He planned many letters back, that should tell of his safe return and of his quiet, busy, winter fireside. The greetings come to us in the love of God that descends still from the bosom whither God gathered him to rest.

Rest thee, honoured Pastor, Teacher, Counsellor, Friend forever. The busy heart of God is thy fit home for the ages."

Having fulfilled this, the main purpose of his visit to the old land, he occupied the rest of the summer in visiting relatives and friends, particulars of which need not be given. May, June, and the early part of July were spent mostly in London, with his daughter. On page 32 of the Bible Society's *Monthly Reporter* for 1887, a short reference is made to a visit paid to the Bible Society House, in Queen Victoria St. where he met with the Committee on June 7, Lord Harrowby in the chair. Those who heard him on that occasion, it is remarked, were

"impressed by his evident thorough acquaintance with the Bible-work throughout his Auxiliary, and by the hearty loyalty with which he expressed his feelings of attachment to the Parent Society; and they will not soon forget the force and animation with which the aged man, then in his ninth decade, and supporting himself on crutches, gave utterance to the fulness of his heart."

Towards the latter end of July he visited Glasgow, where he was the guest of his old friend, the Rev. David Russell, who sends the following pleasant reminiscences regarding his visit:

"The last time I had the pleasure of welcoming him under my roof was exactly a year ago—July, 1886—when he and Mrs. Wilkes spent a week with us. Though very little out of doors, during that time, owing to his sad inability to walk, he seemed to find the day too short for all that was to be done and enjoyed. He preached for me on the 25th of July, from the words:—'and the soul of the people was much discouraged because of the way.' The interest of his hearers was first excited by the peculiarity of the arrangements; he sitting during the preliminary services, which he preferred taking himself, and then intensified by the vigorous, practical way in which he handled his subject, and the hopeful, and withal pathetic lessons which he drew from it.

Notwithstanding the difficulty of moving about, his indomitable spirit carried him through the programme he had drawn out. His friends were much more afraid for him than he was for himself; but his cheerful, buoyant spirit overcame all difficulties, and as he moved from one to the other, they were as surprised at his energy and determination as delighted to find it was only the body that was inactive, the heart and mind were loving, receptive, and clear as of old. Indeed, he was the animating spirit in every company in which he mingled.

Though nothing was said, we knew when parting we should meet no more on earth; but I think neither he nor we anticipated that the summons to leave it would come to him so soon. It came, however, as I am sure he would have wished it—while he was still able to enjoy life, and to work for God. His prevailing mood cannot be better portrayed than in the following extract from a letter I had from him not long after he had heard of the death of Dr. Alexander. 'I sympathize with you in the feeling, when so many contemporaries are passing away; when will my time come? In my eightieth year, and in excellent health, there are no symptoms to admonish me; yet one naturally deems it unwise to lay out any path, or course, having relation to the future in this life. Sometimes I

feel, as I daresay you do, that I must do this or prepare that for some future time; and then I am brought up by the thought 'Why, you are eighty years old, you will not live until then.' I had a great-uncle who, when ninety-four, said to his niece, 'Ann, the lease of this house and ground will expire in 27 years, and I know not what I shall do then, for I should not like to move to another!' She replied, 'Uncle, do you expect to live so long?' He smiled and said, 'O, I forgot.' Yes we forget! Well, I have come to the conclusion to work on so long as I am able; giving during the College Session five lectures a week; very seldom going out at night during the winter; occasionally preaching or speaking in public, and waiting until the Master bids me cease. You know that my physical understandings are not what they were, that I use crutch and staff, and drive if I have to go far; but voice, sight, hearing, comparatively good, and the brain fairly active, one can continue to do a little; and then when we are gone, our place will be supplied by the Master who appointed us.'"

A fortnight was also spent with old friends in Glasgow, and neighbourhood, and later on, at the Crieff Hydropathic Establishment, where, on Sunday evening, he held a service in the drawing room, of which one of the guests gives the subjoined account:

"In the evening a service is conducted in the drawing-room for those who prefer remaining in the house, and on this occasion a considerable number avail themselves of the opportunity of hearing Dr. Wilkes. To the Congregationalists of the company the occasion is one of special interest, not only from the veteran minister having so long occupied an influential position at Montreal as their representative, but also because the opportunity of hearing him is so rare, and is not likely, on account of his advanced age and infirmity, to recur again in England, for he is about to sail for Canada—his adopted country. Many who read these lines will call to mind the welcome accorded to Dr. Wilkes when he appeared on the platform of the Congregational Union in May, the whole assembly rising to do him honour. The wonderful energy and determination of the veteran minister, in undertaking a voyage across the Atlantic, for the purpose of being present at the Jubilee of the Colonial Missionary Society, won the admiration of all, and especially when it was seen that it was with difficulty he could either walk or stand, even with the aid of crutch and stick. Otherwise the health of the aged man seems to be excellent, and his mental powers robust as ever. He stood to preach with the assist-

ance of his crutch, and spoke with great firmness of enunciation and force of utterance. It was easy to understand from his deliverance on Sunday, the power he would wield in the pulpit in his palmy days. We can but subjoin the briefest outline of his discourse. Taking as his text (Psalm cxxxv. 4.) 'The Lord hath chosen ..... Israel for his peculiar treasure,' the preacher proceeded to show this declaration to be in harmony with ancient Scripture, and to be carried forward into New Testament thought. God's people are in all ages accounted His peculiar treasure. In setting this forth, Dr. Wilkes proceeded to speak of other treasures which God has, and in which He delights. With striking eloquence he dilated on beauty as one of these, as witnessed by the scenery of the earth and the heavens, which we might then see around us, and which in some of its aspects was most strikingly apparent in America and amidst Alpine scenes. If we admire these, would not He who made them account such objects as his treasures? More than we can must He delight in them, since we can see them but in parts, while He can take in all the grandeur and the glory at once. Our delight in the grand and the beautiful is an element of greatness in us, and shows our oneness, in a measure, with God Himself. In like manner the preacher proceeded to speak of the plans and ways of Providence as being delighted in by the God who produces them, as statesmen and rulers delight in measures they formulate and produce for a nation's good. But God declares that God's people are His 'peculiar treasure,' which brings us a step higher. As they for whom the glorious things of nature and Providence exist, and as God's 'purchased inheritance,' 'the people whom He has redeemed,' God takes infinite delight in them. And how does He show this by the pains He takes to educate and perfect them when needful by chastisement; while the surpassing dignity He bestows on those who love and serve Him attests the delight He takes in the true Israel as His peculiar treasure.

It was especially refreshing to be reminded of these things amidst such scenes and such society. It seemed to make the little congregation, who had been for the most part strangers to each other till they met here, as one in the love of the common Lord and Saviour of all."

Thence he returned to friends in Halifax, in whose house he penned the few closing pages of his "jottings," already quoted, and whence, about a week after, he left for Liverpool, to take passage for Quebec.

It had been his intention to return in good season for the re-opening of the College in the middle of September, and

then at once resume his classes for the session; but an attack of illness rendered Mrs. Wilkes unequal to the journey at the time proposed, and delayed them, so that they did not reach home until the end of the month.

The voyage proved very stormy and uncomfortable. For nearly a week he had to be led by two stewards from the state-room to the saloon, and almost barricaded in a corner, lest he should be thrown from his seat; but the discomfort was patiently endured, and many cheery words he had for the sea-sick ones around him. On Sunday morning he preached in the cabin, the day being tolerably fine, and the greater part of the passengers were present. One bright little fellow, of four years, amused the company by declaring that Dr. Wilkes was "a very good preacher," and seemed greatly impressed by hearing the remark in the sermon that God's "everlasting arms are around us."

Arriving at home on the following Saturday, apparently in vigorous health, he immediately set to work to answer a volume of letters that awaited him, and on being remonstrated with for so taxing his strength, he replied that he felt the necessity of doing whatsoever his hand found to do, with all his might.

On the first Sunday in October, he preached in Zion church —exactly fifty years from the time of his first preaching in the pulpit of the church in St. Maurice Street, although he appears not to have remembered the fact until after the service was over. The next Sunday he preached, in fulfilment of a promise made long before, for the Rev. W. R. Cruickshank, in the Presbyterian church at Point St. Charles, the text being Psalm cx. 7: "He shall drink of the brook by the way: therefore shall he lift up the head." This was his last sermon!

The week after his return, he resumed his duties in the College, lecturing to his class on his appointed days and subjects with evident zest. This he continued for several weeks, during

which he also attended various meetings of committees connected with religious Societies in the city, at which he gave some account of his intercourse with the committees of similar bodies in London. Then, all at once, came a reaction—numbness, feebleness, stiffness: the hand so skilled with the pen "forgot her cunning," and he could no longer write; the brain, formerly so active, became comatose, and while talking with you, he would suddenly cease, his head dropping upon his chest—asleep! This condition continued for several days, notwithstanding which, he persevered with his work until Thursday, the 21st of October, when he met his students in the class-room for the last time. Meeting him that day, at the close of his lecture, we noticed a wearied and distressed look on his usually bright and cheery face, and inquired after his health. "I cannot understand this numbness and stiffness," he replied, "I have never experienced it before;" and then having, with the assistance of two of his students, divested himself of his gown, he was carried out in the chair in which he had lectured, and helped into his carriage, never more to return.

For several days he was persuaded not to attempt to lecture, but feeling slightly better on the Wednesday, he sent a message to his class to meet him in his parlour, which they did, and there received from their venerable Professor the last instructions he ever imparted. It was a great effort—too great for his strength. Twice during the delivery he flagged and faltered, as if he would break down, one of the pauses being so long that Mrs. Wilkes, who was sitting in the adjoining room, anxiously watching, and waiting to be called if she should be required, was just about to go to his assistance. But he rallied again, and his indomitable will carried him through, although he was greatly exhausted when the lecture was over. "I do not understand why I should feel thus," he said to his wife, "my brain is not working, and my buoyancy is gone."

The day following he went out for a drive, but the hand was weak, and could not hold the reins. Very shortly afterwards he took to his bed, and became unconscious, or nearly so. "Often," Mrs. Wilkes says, "he was talking rapidly, giving lectures and preaching, although not many consecutive sentences could be caught, yet enough to know that the brain was still at work, though in a state of only semi-consciousness. The words of prayer were on his lips, and the feeble arms were often raised in pronouncing the benediction. On the 15th of November all consciousness ceased; the weary brain was still; a perfect calm settled on the countenance. Already he seemed to pass within the vail, and "see the King in his beauty, and the land that is very far off;" but the breathing continued till Wednesday the 17th, when, in the early morning, the great silence came, and the watchers felt as if they had heard the echo of the "Well done" of welcome, as he entered into the joy of his Lord.

The announcement of his death called forth voluminous obituary notices, and resolutions of condolence by various public bodies with which he was connected, which would fill many pages. The *Daily Witness* said of him,—

"Canada has lost one of her great benefactors in Dr. Wilkes, the patriarch and apostle of Congregationalism. It was in no sectarian spirit that this divine, fifty years ago, left an important and popular charge in the Scottish capital, to become the agent of the Congregationalists in England in promoting Christianity in Canada, on the basis of their very democratic and theologically liberal ecclesiastical policy. It has been, in fact, the weakness of Congregationalism toward which he has been during that time an untitled bishop, that its members, while acting as leaders in every public movement about them, have a great dislike for sectarianism, and are far from absorbed in denominational work. Holding with all his fellow religionists to the principles of a catholic Christianity, he was among the most faithful and self-sacrificing promoters of all the great catholic societies which have characterized the half century of his Canadian labours, and some of which have of late, here as elsewhere, given way to denominational movements. True to these broad principles to the end,

perhaps his last official act was to appear as the caller of a meeting of the Evangelical Alliance, of which he was fitly the president. No one who has known Montreal during any considerable portion of the fifty years in question, but will pay homage to the immense influence wielded for good by Dr. Wilkes, as pastor of one of the leading Protestant congregations—one which in his day would yield to no other in importance and public weight, and one which furnished far more than its own contingent of workers for every religious and moral movement in the city." .....

The *Gazette* had an equally appreciative notice, from which we give only a few sentences:—

..... "Not in his own church merely, but in the other Protestant denominations, he was regarded as the patriarch of the religious community. Nor was it simply length of days which obtained for him that position of honour. Dr. Wilkes had devoted his great natural gifts and varied culture for a long life time mainly to one object—to care for the flock with the oversight with which Providence had, in his prime of manhood, entrusted him. If it is usual to pay court to able ministers who, after a longer or shorter stay with us, find it their duty to seek or accept another sphere of service, still more is homage due to those who, like the late pastor of Zion church, have found no employment more worthy of their talents, than to tend that spot in the great Vineyard where their ministrations have been already blessed. Dr. Wilkes was known far and wide over this broad continent and in the land of his birth, but his heart remained true to Montreal, and he looked for no higher reward in this world than to spend and be spent among those who loved and revered him as their spiritual father. For nearly seventy years altogether he was, with occasional absences, associated with the commercial, social, and religious life of this city. The story of his ministry, if fully narrated, would be a record of deep and manifold interest."

The funeral took place on the following Saturday afternoon, that day being considered the most generally convenient, especially for friends in the city, although equally inconvenient for ministerial brethren in the country around, many of whom desired to attend, and pay their last sad tribute of respect to his memory. Assembling at Dr. Wilkes' late residence, Mr. Hill, the pastor of Calvary church, led the mourning company in prayer, after which the funeral cortege moved slowly on to Emmanuel church, headed by over fifty clergymen, of various

denominations. Emmanuel church was already nearly filled with those who had come to the funeral obsequies. The Rev. Dr. Cornish presided, and opened the service by announcing the hymn beginning,

"For Thy dear saint, O Lord,
Who strive in Thee to live,
Who followed Thee, obeyed, adored,
Our grateful hymn receive."
(No. 1250 Cong. Hymn Book.)

The Rev. F. H. Marling, of New York, read select passages of Scripture, and the Rev. G. H. Wells, of the American Church, delivered the funeral address, which we give elsewhere. The Rev. Principal McVicar, of the Presbyterian College, then led the assembly in prayer; the hymn,

"Forever with the Lord," etc.
(No. 1180 Cong. Hymn Book.)

was sung, and Dr. Cornish closed the services with the benediction. The remains were laid to rest among those of multitudes of departed friends whom he himself had followed to the same beautiful Mount Royal.

On Sunday evening, a memorial service was held in Emmanuel church, the pulpit of which was draped in mourning, relieved, in front, by a floral anchor, symbol of the hope of the Christian, in which the venerable pastor had lived and died. Mr. Marling (since chosen pastor of the church) preached a most impressive sermon from the words of Gal. i, 24,—"And they glorified God in me." The sermon, by desire of several friends, is given afterwards almost entire. Reference was made on the same Sabbath, in many of the pulpits of the city, as well as in those of the denomination generally, to his death, as a loss to the Church of Christ not to be easily supplied.

Resolutions expressive of their sense of his worth and usefulness, and of condolence with his family, were adopted by the following, among other public bodies and institutions:—

Emmanuel and Zion churches, Montreal, the Corporation and the Students of the Congregational College of B. N. A., the Canada Congregational Missionary Society, the Congregational Union of Ontario and Quebec, the Montreal Branch of the Evangelical Alliance, the Auxiliary Bible Society, and the Corporation of McGill University. We give those only of the last three public Institutions; the denominational ones will be found in their respective published records.

BY THE BIBLE SOCIETY.

At the monthly meeting of the General Committee of the Society, held December 2, 1886, *inter alia*, it was unanimously *Resolved*,—

"That in receiving the report of the death of our honoured colleague, the Rev. Dr. Wilkes, we desire to express, and to place on record, our deep sense of the loss which this Society, in common with all kindred Institutions, has sustained by the removal of one who filled so large a place, and played so important a part in the Religious, Educational, and Benevolent life and work of this community, for half a century.

In the various capacities of a member of this Committee, then Secretary, and lastly of a Vice-President of this Society, Dr. Wilkes was ever ready by voice, and pen, and example, to do all he could in promoting the great object of this Society—the sending abroad the Word of God throughout the land; and none rejoiced more heartily than he at the success which attended this work.

As a minister of the Gospel, occupying for so many years, as he did, a prominent position among the churches of this city, he was loyal and true to the great fundamental truths of the Bible; and he had his reward in being the centre of influences and efforts which operated for good in promoting the religious and social well-being of this community. "He rests from his labours, and his works do follow him."

Resolved, further: "That a copy of this Resolution be forwarded to the widow and family of our deceased friend, with the expression of our sincere sympathy and condolence with them in this the hour of their sorrow and bereavement."

(Signed), GEORGE CORNISH,
Cor. Secretary, M. A. B. S.

A copy of these Resolutions was also ordered to be sent to the Parent Society.

By the Evangelical Alliance.

Resolved:—"That this meeting of the Montreal Branch of the Evangelical Alliance has heard with profound regret of the death of its Honorary President, the Rev. H. Wilkes, D.D., LL.D.,—President of the Branch from the time of its formation until the last annual meeting,—and desires to place on record its high appreciation of his many excellent qualities as a man, a minister, and a Christian. We are deeply sensible of the loss the Alliance has sustained in his removal; we meekly bow to the will of our Father, and pray that the family of our deceased brother may be divinely sustained in their great sorrow."

Signed, on behalf of the Alliance,
J. W. Dawson, LL.D.,
President.

By the Corporation of McGill University.

January 26, 1887. *Inter alia*,—

It was moved by the Rev. Canon Norman, D.D., and seconded by Dr. Robert Craik, and unanimously *Resolved*,—

"That the Corporation of this University take this their first opportunity of placing on record their deep and sincere regret at the decease of the Rev. Dr. Wilkes, for more than twenty years a member of this Corporation.

Dr. Wilkes took a foremost place in the field of higher education in this city; he displayed a lively interest in the special work of this University, and during his long residence in this city, won the respect and regard of all with whom he came in contact.

Also, that the Corporation wish to express their cordial sympathy with the widow and family of the late Rev. Dr. Wilkes, in this their heavy affliction; and order that a copy of this Resolution be transmitted to Mrs. Wilkes."

(Signed), W. C. Baynes, B.A.,
Secretary, McGill University.

APPENDIX.

SKETCHES AND FUNERAL ADDRESSES.

Address of the Rev. George H. Wells, at the Funeral Service, Nov. 20, 1887.

Mr. Wells said: "I wish to speak of Dr. Wilkes to-day, simply as one of his neighbours and younger brothers in the ministry of Jesus Christ. A more complete discourse, which shall present the outlines of his life and work, and describe his character, his relations to his denomination and to his church, will be given in this house to-morrow night, by one who is entitled, by long and intimate association, to speak of him both with authority and love. A further tribute to his memory will also be due from me, because of personal acquaintance and affection, and from my pastoral connection with the church of which he first became a member, and to which he showed himself a more than constant friend. That tribute I shall hope to render at another time and place. At this service I would represent, as far as I am able, the ministers and churches of this city. I would express in their behalf, something of that esteem with which we all regarded him, and of that deep sense of loss which this entire Christian community sustains in his removal. Not many of us have known him in the full noontide of his strength. He outlived most of his early associates and fellow-workers, and few comparatively are left who can remember him in his youth, or even in his middle life. I am older in residence and service than most pastors here, and Dr. Wilkes was just retiring from the active pastorate when I came to Montreal. For thirty-five years—more than the life-time of a generation—he had then been min-

ister of Zion church. He withdrew from that position, not because he was old or felt worn out, but in order to devote himself more fully to the College work. It was meet that he should give his last and ripest years and should use the sources of his experience and wisdom to train young men to follow in the sacred office he had filled and loved. He had earned honourable retirement and promotion by his faithful and successful work as pastor. By the blessing of God resting on his abundant labours, he had brought his congregation on from small beginnings to large and ever growing strength; he had led them from the humble chapel in St. Maurice Street into the spacious and attractive building so long and so well known as Zion church, and which we still find it hard and sad to call by any other name. He had been an able and earnest preacher of the truth. He never aimed at brilliancy of diction or imagination, but he was a good student, and a safe and strong expounder of the sacred Word. He attracted many intelligent and thoughtful hearers, and his congregation was distinguished for both its spiritual and intellectual power.

By such a ministry of solid and abiding usefulness, he set a good example, in an age inclined to novelty and change, and he showed to ministers and churches that it is safe to walk in simple and in quiet ways. His spirit was always of the kindliest and most catholic type. He had been selected and sent out to Canada as the representative of the Congregational or Independent body in England. For years he was the leader among the churches of that order in this country. He travelled far and laboured hard in their behalf, both in the old world and the new. Many a man in such a place would have become a narrow and sectarian zealot, and been so much engrossed in his own church, as to be unable or unwilling to see the good that lay outside its bounds. But it was not so with Dr. Wilkes; his nature was too broad to admit of that. He believed that Congregationalism is a Scriptural and sensible order of church polity. He loved it and he served it loyally

and well. He had his preferences, very likely his convictions on the subject, but this never separated him by a hair's breadth from any of his brethren in the Christian faith. He gladly recognized the excellencies of other churches; he rejoiced in their prosperity and increase. He was a Christian first, a Congregationalist afterwards, a sectarian or bigot never.

Besides his duties as the pastor of an important city charge, and the care of all the churches of his denomination that came upon him daily, he found time and will to lend a helping hand to every good word and work. All movements to promote the public welfare; whatever tended to advance the cause of education, of morality, religious freedom, social order, or good government, found in him a true and earnest friend. The various societies for union Christian effort,—the Bible Society, the Religious Book and Tract Society, the French Canadian Missionary Society, of blessed work and memory, the Sunday School Union, the Temperance Associations, the different agencies of Home and Foreign Missions, all had in him a ready advocate and helper. When a branch of the Evangelical Alliance, intended to secure the fellowship, and, on occasion, the concerted action of all who hold the fundamentals of our common faith, was formed in Montreal, he naturally became its president, and he remained so until his death. A few days since, at the annual meeting of that body, when it was known that he was seriously ill, and very likely would never again be well enough to attend its meetings, it was the unanimous wish that his name should still head the roll of officers, and he was re-elected to that post. He was an Evangelical Alliance in himself, grandly evangelical in all his doctrinal beliefs, and eager to ally himself with all who have obtained a like precious faith. He possessed the pleasant and loving spirit that would heal all wounds and separations in the Christian church, and lead to the fulfilment of Christ's prayer for the unity of all disciples in himself.

He was a living bond of union between our denominations, and our congregations, and we might know him long and well without hearing from him a word to indicate his own connection, or to suggest that he did not entirely agree with all one's minor views.

Since his release from his own pulpit work, how ready he has been to preach in all churches; and even since his infirmities have come upon him, what pains would he not take in order to oblige a brother who was needing help. How he delighted still to meet his Christian friends, at special meetings, and on anniversary occasions! And though his limbs were stiffened so that he could no longer stand to speak, he would address us sitting like a venerated and venerable bishop, speaking *ex-cathedra* in his chair. Though lame in body he was yet clear in mind; his eye was not dimmed, and his voice kept until almost the last, its old sonorous ring. His spirit was willing though his flesh was weak, and continuing to preach and to attend on public services, he often surprised, and sometimes shamed far younger, but less enterprising men.

In fact we grew ashamed to ask his presence and assistance in our assemblies, before he learned to say us nay.

His recent trip to the old country was a striking proof of his great energy, and of the courage with which he fought against the advancing ills of life. Not many men, when more than 80 years of age, able to walk only with great difficulty upon a level floor, and powerless to take a single upward or downward step alone, would think that they could make long journeys by land and sea, could attend and address crowded meetings; could preach in different churches, at one place delivering two sermons on the same Sabbath day; could visit numerous friends in England and Scotland, and after a summer spent thus abroad, return to Canada and take up College work again. Dr. Wilkes did it. He yearned to keep the Jubilee of his appointment to the Colonial field upon the platform of the Congregational Union that had sent him out. His hope-

ful spirit minimized the obstacles that seemed so great in other eyes, and to our great surprise he went. In London he appeared in the meetings of that body which, fifty years before, had made him its pioneer apostle to the Canadian work. He was there, but he must have been well-nigh the only one of that assembly that had met in 1836. The men who commissioned him had, almost without exception, passed from the scene of earthly labour to that of heavenly reward,—had gone before him from human sight and fellowship to "the general assembly and church of the first-born."

Their sons and successors gave royal welcome to the veteran on his return. When his presence was discovered in the house, the whole assembly rose, and gave him an enthusiastic cheer! Eloquent and distinguished men pronounced glowing eulogy upon his character and work. He replied to their addresses, and told, at some considerable length, the story of his departure, and of his subsequent career, speaking in tones that were full and strong, and made themselves distinctly heard.

That grand occasion was the fitting close and culmination of his course.

It was the wreath of honour and approval that his brethren placed upon him just before the Master called him higher, and set the crown of everlasting life and joy upon his brow.

The exertions and excitements of his journey proved too great a tax upon his strength. He reached home in safety, and called himself about as well as usual; but to some of us it seemed that there were signs of an approaching change Even his indomitable will could not much longer keep the worn out wheel from breaking at the cistern. We were not surprised to hear a little while ago that Dr. Wilkes was ill, and though the physicians spoke in hopeful terms we felt the end was, doubtless, near. Slowly but surely the machinery of life ran down. He gradually lost the power of motion and of speech. Later he fell into unconsciousness. Very gently the

spirit went out from the tabernacle where it had dwelt so long, and left it cold and still in death. The old man became a little child, and fell asleep on the Eternal Father's breast. It was a merciful and fitting end. Our friend and father has been spared the sad experience of long dependence and decay. The bridge by which he crossed from vigorous and cheerful service here to the unending life beyond was very short.

Some have expressed regret that he did not husband his strength more carefully, and that he possibly shortened his days by the recent trip abroad. Let us not mourn for this, however, but rejoice rather that he was enabled to fulfil the hope that he had cherished many years.

We might have wished that he had heard Death's coming footstep at his door, and spoken words of advice, and fond farewell to his friends, to pupils, and to the loved ones within his family and home, and had expressed his confidence and peace in presence of the last great foe. Affection would gladly crave such parting testimonials as these.

But after all, we do not need more words of wisdom and tenderness from him. His life was the expression of his faith and love. No one who knew him ever questioned his sincerity, his courage or his unfeigned piety. No one can doubt that to him has been administered "an abundant entrance into the everlasting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." We are confident of his acceptance in the beloved, as though we had seen him visibly go from us into the opened heaven, and had cried, "My father, my father, the chariot of Israel, and the horsemen thereof." May we, the prophets and the sons of the prophets, the ministers and the students who are left behind, offer Elisha's prayer, and find it answered in our case, that a double portion of his spirit may be given unto us. In all our churches may the savour of his life and work long linger, and be fully manifested, in principles as sound, in character as pure, in labours as abounding and unselfish as were his. May those most bitterly bereaved by the removal of their

dearest earthly stay, who had for them the sacred name of husband, brother, father, friend, find in this hour of sore trial that Comforter on whom he leaned, and proved him able to supply his every need. May they amid their sorrow still rejoice on his account because he has gone unto the Father; and may we all have grace to follow in his steps until we too shall pass beyond the partings and the weepings here, to that bright home where God shall wipe away all tears, and whence we shall go no more out forever."

DISCOURSE BY THE REV. F. H. MARLING, IN EMMANUEL CHURCH, NOV. 21, 1886.

GALATIANS i, 24.

"And they glorified God in me."

So speaks the Apostle of the Gentiles concerning "the churches of Christ in Judea," when they heard of his "preaching the faith which once he destroyed." Their bitterest enemy had become their warmest friend, and while they welcomed him with open arms, they "lifted up their voice to God with one accord,"—"Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thine own name give glory, for Thy mercy and for Thy truth's sake."

The words come to me with compelling force, as indicating the course of thought to be presented upon the death of our old friend, Rev. Dr. Henry Wilkes. It would not be possible, nor would any one desire, that biographical statements should fail to occupy considerable space. But in these the aim should be to glorify God, not man. "By the grace of God I am what I am," said Paul, and I am sure that he who has gone from us would adopt the saying as his own.....

My acquaintance with Dr. Wilkes began in 1848, when he was in all the vigour of his manly prime. For six years I worked beside him here, and our friendship continued to the end. He outlived nearly all of his earlier friends in the ministry, and I could not refuse the call to stand here to-day, and try to interpret the lessons of his life and death.

"And they glorified God in me." What this occasion calls for seems best spoken in answer to the question,—*What did God do for and by Henry Wilkes?*

1. *God gave him a good mother.*

I have often heard him speak with enthusiasm of that mother, have heard the cordial testimony of her pastors, and can confirm that testimony by personal knowledge. What a

wonderful function these godly mothers perform in preparing the future ministers of the Word! more than can ever be done afterwards by the most faithful pastors, the most learned professors. It was Hannah, the mother, whose prayer and consecration made the child Samuel a prophet of the Lord; a mother, Lois (and grandmother, Eunice), who gave young Timothy his unfeigned faith and his knowledge of the Holy Scriptures; Monica, whose prayers brought home the prodigal Augustine; and Susannah Wesley, who so trained her John and Charles as to be herself the real (though unconscious) founder of Methodism. More than once, the question has been asked in some modern school of the Prophets, "How many of you had pious mothers?" and always the overwhelming majority have been proud to be so blessed. A mother's face, if lighted from within by the indwelling spirit, is her babe's first Bible; her stories, the boy's earliest Bible School; her commands, permissions, and prohibitions, his initial discipline in duty; and her prayers, the power that brings down the blessing of God on his head. Often it is her secret consecration, or her expressed desire, that turns a youth's steps into the ministry. And her sympathy sustains and cheers a pastor's heart through his manifold labours and trials. All this, the preacher can testify from personal experience. And so could our departed friend. The hidden roots that fed this long life of Christian service must not be sought in college, church, or school, but in the Christian home.

O mothers, this is your holy and beautiful office. Your place is at the very springs of life. You hold the world's and the church's future in your hands. Do your work well. Train up every boy and girl in the way they should go. Give the best of yourselves to this work. Let it have the first lien on your time. Social enjoyments, even outside benevolences, should stand *after* the children. No one else can do your work, if you leave it undone. Do not have to say at last, "They made me keeper of vineyards, but mine own vineyard have I not kept."

2. *God gave him a sound body.*

No one could see Henry Wilkes without being impressed by his immense physical vitality. He was a rare example of a normal human organism. Every part of the machine was in fine working order. He fairly revelled in work, he ate and drank heartily, he slept soundly. His vision was strong, his hearing quick, his voice sonorous, his step firm, his laugh free and contagious. Seldom was he hindered by sickness, never was he a prey to melancholy. It was an inspiration to come into contact with so much life and strength. The strong found there a companionship seldom within their reach; the weak were comforted and cheered as by the infusion of this abundant vigour into their own veins. Hardly any amount of labour seemed beyond his powers. Public services, going from house to house, official consultations, voluminous correspondence, frequent travel, and studious preparation, all were undertaken with a cheerfulness that never failed. The day began early and ended late, and every hour was filled to the brim. For many years, his duty to the churches at large required long journeys over rough roads and through winter storms. As his fellow traveller on some of these, I can testify to the zest and the cheerfulness with which he enjoyed the pleasant, and endured the disagreeable, incidents of the journey. It seemed to be a matter of course for him to perform twice the work of average men. This wonderful strength continued unimpaired for sixty, well nigh seventy years. It resisted the disorder which made him a lame man for the last decade of his life, supplying courage, patience, and hopefulness, refusing to be laid aside, seizing every opportunity for exercise, and ready for any possible form of work. If he could not preach on his feet, he would do it in a chair. He astonished his English audiences last summer by his sprightliness and energy. Three weeks only before he ceased to breathe, he met his students in his own house, and wanted them to come again!

What an amazing power for good there was in this physical constitution! what a fund of joy it was to himself; how it multiplied his power of serving others! How different his life would have been, had he been burdened with a weak and diseased frame! It was God's gift to His servant. But the gift was held with a true steward's fidelity. The laws of health were studied and obeyed; dangerous excesses were avoided. The powers were put to a good use. The body was the servant, the spirit the master.

Young men who are strong, and exult in your strength,—will you not heed the lesson here for you? "Ye are not your own: ye are bought with a price; wherefore glorify God *in your bodies* and spirits which are *His*." Put this talent out to usury. If you have but one, husband it carefully; if ten, let the Master have them all with increase.

3. *God gave him a healthy mind.*

The body and the mind are very unlike, yet they are near akin, and act and react upon each other. We could not avoid speaking just now of certain mental effects of a sound body. But besides these, there was in our friend an unusually well-balanced and wholesome quality of mind, a freedom from one-sidedness and abnormality, which was a valuable part of his equipment for God's service. He used to disclaim the possession of genius, poetry, and eloquence. Even if his self-analysis was correct, he had a high degree of that uncommon attribute—common sense. He could see a subject on many sides. He could admit the force of opinions differing from his own. He was fond of reasoning, yet enjoyed the thrill of emotion. His feelings were warm, but not beyond control. His views of life were reasonable and natural,—neither all worldly, as though there were no other world than this; nor ascetic, forbidding the enjoyment of God's earthly gifts. He was judicious, a good man to advise with, sympathetic but sober. His public utterances were thoughtful and deliberate,

and commended themselves to thoughtful men. He was neither a bigot to traditions of the elders, nor ever on the look-out for "some new thing." He could hear, wait, and judge. This habit of mind gave him stability of character; you knew where to find him.

A like wholesomeness pertained to his religious views, experiences, and teaching. There was in these no morbid tendency. Serious, but not gloomy; joyous, but reverent. Language and tones of voice were natural and real. He was positive, forcible, and earnest, but not bitter or extravagant.

How much this cast of character is needed amidst the conflicts and confusions of thought prevailing on every side! "Keep sound wisdom and discretion." "God hath given us the spirit of a sound mind." "Let every man be swift to hear, slow to speak, slow to wrath."

4. *God gave him an early conversion.*

It was at about twenty years of age that he became a member in full communion of the American Presbyterian Church in this city, and I believe that this open confession of his faith followed soon after the decisive crisis in his soul's history, in which he became "a new creature in Christ Jesus." Previous to this, he had been the subject of God's "restraining grace." The good habits in which he had been reared, parental prayers, and good associations, had preserved him from many temptations and sins. He put himself under the hallowed influences of the Sabbath and the sanctuary. "I being in the way, the Lord met me," describes his position. Ah! it is much, though it is not all, when our young men and maidens are held back from the evil they might do if left to themselves; when their consciences are not defiled by committing gross transgressions; and when they are kept out of the entangling snare of partnerships in vice. But there is something more wanted than this negative virtue. As the now silent preacher said in his Jubilee sermon, referring to the opening of his

ministry fifty years before: "The subject of the first sermon suggests the tone that pervaded them all. Men must be in Christ if they are to be saved—there is salvation in no other. But to be in Christ is more than profession, more than avowal, more than baptism, however administered, more than membership of a church. It is to be a new creature—to be born again of the Spirit of God to newness of life, and then to have that life working and manifesting itself in holy obedience, the 'old things' of sin and death 'passing away, and all things becoming new.'" Who can doubt that this style of preaching grew out of his own experience of that great change? "I believed, therefore have I spoken."

This happy renewal took place in a youth of twenty, away from home, in a commercial situation, despite the temptations of city life. The ministry of the Rev. Joseph S. Christmas, of saintly memory, was the means by which it was wrought; but "God gave the increase." It is a great thing to come to the Lord in our youth; it grows harder every day. Dear young people, if you are not yet converted, hear the appeal and follow the example of him who loved you all. He was never sorry that he became a Christian so soon. He always warned you of the danger of putting Christ off to "a convenient season."

5. *God gave him a thorough training for the Ministry.*

As soon as he was converted, he set to work, especially in the Sabbath School, where his ability was recognized and called forth in addresses to the school as well as in teaching a class. Then there began to stir within him the mysterious conviction of a "call" to the ministry of the Gospel. This became so decided, that he gave up the *partnership*, into which he had been promoted after serving five years as a clerk, and went to Glasgow to attend the University and the Theological Academy conducted by the Rev. Ralph Wardlaw, D.D., and Rev. Greville Ewing. "This course," he says, characteris-

tically, "was adopted because Canada at the time was greatly in need of a thoroughly enlightened, well-trained Godly ministry, and because I had in hand the means of paying my way without dependence on any one." A pretty far-sighted and independent resolve for a young man of three-and-twenty! Did not the issue show that he judged soundly? Was the time in Glasgow lost? Would it have been better for him to have rushed, in the heat of his undisciplined zeal, into some village pulpit, and preached himself out in a few months? By going to Glasgow he secured that mental furnishing which carried him successfully through a continuous active pastorate in one church of five-and-thirty years, and gave him a commanding position in the city and the entire Colony; he actually preached, as a student, nearly as much as a pastor (perhaps too much; so he thought); he interested British Christians in the Colonies, and formed a Society for Colonial Missions; and he finally returned to Canada with an established position and repute that placed him at once on a high vantage ground.

There may be a suggestion of value here to the Theological students of to-day, nearly sixty years later, viz., that it is a wise economy of time to make thorough preparation for the work of the ministry. That work demands large resources,—a well stocked back-warehouse as well as an attractive front-window. An itinerant evangelist can do his work on smaller capital than a settled pastor who expects to stay. If the Canada of 1826 needed a "well-trained" ministry, much more does that of 1886, with its educational system since founded and made so complete in all departments. Dr. Wilkes never repented the time so spent, never considered himself too well educated. He took the best course attainable to him in that day. "Go thou, and do likewise." And remember that the training was practical, as well as scholastic. Indeed it was rather too little in the class-room and the study; his own words are, "This preaching ministry was more continuous than I should be disposed to permit to one of my students at

the present day." But this was a fault of degree, not of kind. The blending in right proportions of theory and practice is recognized in all professions as giving the best education. Medical and legal students cannot do without the hospital and the court-room.

6. *God gave him an Evangelical Theology.*

He had heard no other from his childhood up. It was his mother's faith. It was that, as we have seen, in which he was converted, and it was that which was confirmed in him under Wardlaw and Ewing. This faith may be given here as expressed in the Title Deed of Zion Church, prepared under his ministry, which forbids any pastor to "preach, uphold and maintain any doctrine subversive of or contrary to the following principles:—"The Sacred Scriptures of the Old and New Testament are Divinely inspired and of supreme authority." "The true and proper Deity, and the all-sufficient and vicarious atonement of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ." "The personality and proper Deity of the Holy Spirit, and the indispensable necessity of His influence to bring a sinner to true repentance, to regenerate the heart, and to perfect our sanctification. Sanctification through faith in Christ, the final perseverance of all true believers to a state of eternal blessedness through faith in Christ and obedience to his commands, and the future and eternal punishment of the wicked." This is not to be understood as Dr. Wilkes' complete creed, but it does set forth what he regarded as the *core* of the Gospel, the indispensable articles of the Faith, without which the truth of Christ would not be preached. In London, last May, he said, "I would have an impression made upon yourselves concerning the gift of the Holy Spirit. Really, that is the great need everywhere." Such was his personal belief. On these truths his own spiritual life was constantly nurtured. These he proclaimed in the pulpit; these he taught in Bible-class, Sunday School, and personal dealing with souls. These he sought (as

above) to make binding to all time on every one of his successors in the pulpit. So earnestly did he hold them, that I believe he would say with Paul, in v. 8 of this chapter, "Though we or an angel from heaven preach any other Gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed!"

7. *God gave him a successful Ministry.*

It was successful from the very beginning. Fruits were gathered from the labours of the student-preacher in various parts of Scotland. The pastorate of three years in Albany Street, Edinburgh, was one of much power. He found 140 members, and left 240. In Montreal, the young church in St. Maurice Street steadily grew; galleries were put in; but still more room was wanted, and Zion Church was built. The minister's sermons were always evangelical, instructive, and earnest. There was solid food in them, and people in quest of such food loved to hear them. Topics of the time were presented in the light of the Bible. Current errors were assailed with unflinching logic, but never with personal bitterness. The great end of all preaching, the salvation of individual souls, was ever kept in view. I have heard him say that, whatever the theme, he made it a point to present, in every sermon, the way of salvation by Christ, so that no chance visitor might go away without hearing that good news. He held himself open to receive any enquirers, in the vestry or in his own house, and frequently appointed times for the purpose. He had peculiar skill in setting them at their ease, drawing them out, and guiding them to the Saviour. Special seasons of prayer for God's blessing on the word were observed from time to time. The pastor often had a Bible-class of young people, and thus not only trained them in Scripture knowledge, but brought himself into close contact with the individual members. Special attention was given to the Prayer Meetings, to fill them up with life and light, and make them spiritu-

ally helpful. The Sabbath School was under the pastor's eye, and his voice was often heard there. He loved young people, and they loved him. His eye always brightened to a child. While labouring thus abundantly himself, he led others to work. Officials and private members were all expected to do their share, and were made to feel that they were necessary. The benevolence of the church was cultivated on Christian principles, and they were kept informed of the needs of various parts of the world-field.

Especial attention was bestowed on the *Worship* of the church, so that while the *teaching* quality of the ministry of the New Testament was always maintained, the sermon was not allowed to cast Prayer and Praise into the shade. He led the devotions of his people in a reverent and thoughtful manner, mindful of the special wants of the day, and giving fit utterance to their adorations, thanksgivings, confessions, desires, and intercessions. How heartily he joined in singing the praises of God, seeking to enlarge and enrich this portion of the service, and to make it a spiritual sacrifice! In the reading of the Scriptures, his devout spirit, fine voice, and elocutionary instinct combined to "give the sense, and cause the people to understand the reading." In the administration of the Sacraments he was especially felicitous,—dignified, serious and tender, word and action both directed by good judgment and good taste. So, in special services and occasions, he could adapt himself with happy versatility to the demands of the hour.

A ministry of this character and force drew around him a like-minded people, constituting a body of exceptional spirituality, activity, and liberality. In the best days of pastor and flock, its influence was very great, and spread far and wide. Its members are to be found to-day throughout the city and the land, and numbers of them do honour to the school in which they were trained. I cannot put into any figures the results of labours of this kind pursued in one place for a full

generation, but you are hearing them all the time from every quarter, and will, for many a year to come. But "The Day will declare" more than we shall ever know on earth. How many hundreds, thousands of souls he has helped, and are the better for coming into contact with such a spirit! Sacred confidences were poured into his sympathetic ear, comfort and counsel given in return, and the troubled heart has gone away lightened of its burden. To the young, "at the parting of the ways," the right impulse has been given, determining the whole life for God. Into the house of mourning his kindly, hopeful spirit has brought resignation and composure. He could "rejoice with those who did rejoice," as well as "weep with those who wept." The long ministry in one place made him like a senior member of many families. He baptized the children of those whom he had in their infancy baptized. How many must feel that never again can they have a friend and counsellor known so well, trusted so long!

8. *God gave him a National Influence.*

I notice that when he went to study in Glasgow, he saw that "*Canada* needed" such and such a ministry. He began to collect a library for an institution to train them in the country. He took a missionary journey to and through the Province in the midst of his course of study. These things show remarkable breadth of view and public spirit for so young a man. He came out in 1836 bearing the commission of the Colonial Missionary Society as its Agent, first for all Canada, then for the Eastern Province. Personal visits to the churches and much correspondence were required in this office. A Missionary Society was formed in the Province itself, to help in the same work. In 1842 he helped (with Dr. Carruthers) to establish and conduct a Theological Institution in this city, afterwards merged in that carried on at Toronto by Dr. Lillie, which in 1864 was removed to Montreal as the Congregational College. In all these, and other organizations of the Congre-

gational churches, he was an active adviser and worker, a "pillar" of the denomination, and was seen and heard in every part of the Dominion, except its newest Western Provinces,—and even there he was felt.

But while thus loyal to his own regimental colours, he ever regarded himself as belonging to the whole army of the Lord. I need not tell you of Montreal, how brotherly a spirit he had to all Christians, and how effectively, in the Committee room, at the Secretary's desk, and on the platform, he served the Bible and Tract Societies, the French Canadian Mission, the Sunday School Union, the Evangelical Alliance, and all such movements. The cause of Public Education, in all its forms, from the highest to the lowest, he did much to promote. Local charities had in him a constant advocate.

The last years of his life were spent in the service of the Congregational College, together with such outside work as a resident minister, not a pastor, is frequently asked to perform. This professional work of course made him the servant of the churches at large, whose future pastors he thus helped to train. For some 25 years in all, at two different periods, he took part in work of which, from the beginning, he showed a high appreciation.

And thus it was that the name of Dr. Wilkes became known throughout the length and breadth of Canada, amongst all denominations. He loved Canada, rejoiced in its progress, and had faith in its future. Most fervently did he also love his native land, and gloried in the greatness of the British Empire. In many a corner of that Empire his work was well known. He had warm friends in all parts of Great Britain, and in the neighbouring States. "Wilkes of Montreal" will rank with such names as Wardlaw of Glasgow, James of Birmingham, Jay of Bath, and the like, as occupying a centre of power for a lifetime, and wielding an influence to which it is impossible to set any bounds.

Ah! it is a wide, wide gap that is made by his death. We

never knew how much he was to the city and to the land, until he was gone!

9. *God gave him grace to make a Happy Home.*

We have spoken of him so far very much on the public side of his character and life. But that was not the whole of the man. Family affections, family life, family religion, and family training, were matters of the first moment to him. How he enjoyed his own home! how bright he made it for the whole household! He loved to have children and grandchildren always about him. He was a genial host, and a welcome guest. The families of his friends were ever interesting to him. He watched the progress of the young and the decline of the aged with ready sympathy. Births, marriages, and deaths were events of far more than professional interest. We will not intrude on the sacred privacy of the domestic circle further than to note, with thankfulness, that when in these later years it became necessary for him "to be ministered unto" rather than "to minister," the self-devoting and unwearied love which the service required were freely given through all the long days to the last hour. God comfort those who have lost him from their home! He only can measure their depth of sorrow; He only can give the needed consolation. We can only render some small outward service, and then silently pray.

10. And now, finally, *God has taken him unto Himself.*

"To me, to live is Christ, to die is gain." We see all the dark side of death,—the stricken household, the empty place. But we must not fail to look at the other side, visible to the eye of faith. What must it be, to be released from all the infirmities and limitations of the body, and to go free, as a bird escaped from the fowler, to be one of "the spirits of just men made perfect;" to be no longer pressed in on every side by sin and sorrow; to meet with the purest and brightest spirits from all the universe of God; above all, "to be with Christ!"

We glorify God in our departed brother for life lived worthily, for work well done, for suffering cheerfully borne; but far more, for rest and reward so graciously bestowed. "Enoch walked with God, and was not, for God took him." This reads as if God loved the company of his children so well, that he gathers them, one by one, in His own time, into His home above. "Where I am, there ye shall be also." The Scripture tells us little more than this, concerning the blessed dead. But is it not enough? Does any one ask, "Why do we not learn more? I want to know what they are like, what they are doing—why is the Bible so silent?" My friends, I do not know, unless it be for this cause: "I have many things to say unto you, but *ye cannot bear them now*."

If they are "with Christ," shall we not be satisfied with that? Is not the Saviour's presence heaven enough? Does it not carry with it more than everything which heart could wish? You cannot think of any good thing that is not assured by the words, "with Christ."

And then comes in the comforting word to ourselves,—"Them also which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him; we shall be caught up together with them. And so shall we ever be with the Lord." It is but a little time; let us work and wait and trust. "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away: Blessed be the name of the Lord!"

And so we glorify God in him who has passed away from among us. We review this long life, this great work, this honoured character, this glorious end, and we see that "goodness and mercy followed him all the days of his life," till he went to "dwell in the house of the Lord forever." We thank God, and take courage. We follow him who through faith and patience hath inherited the promises. "This God is our God for ever and ever. He will be our guide even unto death." And afterward, "our portion forever." All glory to His name! Amen.

REMINISCENCES.

BY THE REV. J. MONRO GIBSON, D.D., LONDON, ENG.

LONDON, July, 1887.

"DEAR MR. WOOD,

I am very much gratified to hear that you have undertaken to edit the biographical notes my late father-in-law has left of his busy and useful life. .....

Understanding that you are desirous of receiving contributions from any who are in a position to send them, it occurs to me that as I resided for nine years in Montreal, and had exceptional opportunities during that time of knowing his home life, I might venture to give my impressions of what Dr. Wilkes was in his own family.

I may begin by saying that it was a constant grief to him to have so little time to spend with his family. The work he had to do was so enormous, that he was obliged to be at it early and late, every day of the week. It was a constant wonder to me, first, how he accomplished it at all, and next, and more especially, with what calmness of mind he faced the most embarrassing accumulations of it. He never seemed to get flurried or excited, never had to hesitate as to what he should do first, never lost time in fretting over it, or getting into those fits of despair which sometimes overtake the weaker ones of us under similar circumstances, but went steadily on from hour to hour, from day to day, from year to year, no fragment of time lost, no fraction of strength wasted, everything accomplished in the most orderly and business-like manner.

This wonderful equability of temper enabled him also to receive his visitors with unfailing courtesy and kindness, however inconvenient the time of their coming, and however engrossed with work he might be when they came. He had tact to bring them to the point, and help them to the conclusion of the business on which they had come; but never, to my knowledge, did he find it necessary to say, "I am too busy

to see you;" and though some, no doubt, discovered that they had finished the interview in shorter time than they had expected, they had no consciousness of having been impatiently received, or unduly hurried.

As might be expected, the only times, as a rule, when he was with his family, were the meal times, and then he thoroughly unbent himself, dismissed entirely the memories and anticipations of the study, took the fullest interest in all the family conversation, and enlivened it with frequent sallies of fun. *The* leisure time of the week was the late Sunday evening, when the work of the day was over, and the pressure of the next week was not yet on him. As I also found my work, small as it was, at that time, compared with his, quite exacting enough for me, we saw very little of each other at other times; but when the strain of the week was relaxed by the close of the evening service, I would seek rest and relaxation in his company, and many a wise counsel would he give, and very much help and encouragement did I receive out of his rich and ripe experience. These evenings are among the most precious memories of my life.

The secret of his unvarying equability of mind and temper was probably to be found, not only in his natural disposition, but in the long discipline of a devout and trustful life. He was an early riser, usually, at that time (he was then about 60), before six o'clock. The greater part of the time before breakfast would be spent in the little garden, when he always had something to do with his hands, as he took his draught of morning air. Then, immediately after breakfast and family worship, the study door would be shut, and it was understood that for some time he should be left alone. During most of the time before the door was opened again, to signify that access was free, there would be the usual stillness, but occasionally there would be heard a quiet strain of music, which made it evident that praise as well as prayer entered habitually into his devotions. In these morning hours of

healthful exercise of body and of spirit lay the secret of the calmness and strength of the day, the freshness and fruitfulness of the life.

His health was, as a rule, excellent, and his spirits buoyant; and those who knew him only as the strong, cheery, youthful-spirited man, might think that nature had as much to do as grace with his placidity of temper, and patient continuance in well-doing. But though he had little sickness, he had not a little suffering. Even in his earlier days he was frequently in torture from lumbago; and this he bore with the same equanimity with which he faced the distractions of his work, and would go patiently on with his writing while the perspiration was starting from his forehead through the intensity of the pain. He would say little about it, and when he did refer to the subject, it would always be in a cheerful tone, never complaining, and always expecting that very soon there would be relief. Sometimes the pain would continue for days, and at such times he would go through his Sunday work the same as usual, so that probably none but those at home would have any idea he was in pain at all. In the latter part of his life, as probably your story will tell, he had years of suffering, the pain being of the most intense and persistent kind. During these years I saw little of him; but when I did see him, there was always the same sweet serenity of spirit, the same unwavering trust in God, the same bright hopefulness and calm patience. Alas, alas, what rebukes are there for some of us in these sacred memories!

I have seen him, too, under the sore pressure of family sorrow. This is a region too sacred to open up to the public gaze. But this I may say, that in the anguish of his spirit, when it was no longer possible to be calm, when his whole being was convulsed with uncontrollable emotion, he found in God his refuge and strength; and after the outpouring of his soul in prayer, the wonted calm would come again.

No one who knew him could fail to notice how exceedingly

charitable he was; how he always put the best construction on everything that was done, and never uttered a word that might not have been proclaimed on the house-top, or reported direct to the person whose conduct might be in question. Some of us thought this feature of his character was in excess, so as to interfere with just discrimination; and yet, there is the thirteenth of First Corinthians! The great Apostle never reached a loftier range than when he caught and fixed that heavenly vision of Charity, in the glowing words we all admire, but which so few show written in the heart. But they were written in the heart of Henry Wilkes; and though we might sometimes, at the time, find fault with him for what seemed his want of penetration, it is an inspiration now to recall him as an actual living example of that Charity which "thinketh no evil," "believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things," and "never faileth."

Yes, "endureth all things;" for there were times when it seemed as if he had to endure all things, at the hands of certain persons from whom very different treatment might have been expected. ..... I can recall at least two occasions in his life when he was treated by persons, whom he had at great sacrifice obliged, in a way that would have roused the indignation of any ordinary man, and led him to insist on rights which he might justly have claimed. But he refused to contend on his own account, and these personal matters never seemed even to move him. He was so gentle and kind in his words, under provocation which seemed to us of the most aggravating kind, that it was evident he was equally *gentle* and *kind* in his thoughts. Had it been the public interest that was involved, or the interest of his church, or any interest but his own personal advantage, he would have flamed out, and fought to the last for what was just and equitable; but where only personal interests were involved, as in the cases I now refer to, he refused to contend, being far better satisfied to suffer in silence than to secure himself by resisting evil, and exposing the devices by which his claims were set aside.

This brings me to the last feature of his character I shall notice,—his unselfishness. On this, however, I need not dwell, for his whole history was one long illustration of it, and it cannot but shine out, from beginning to end, of any faithful record of his life. But without allowing myself to take a wider range than I have contemplated in this letter, I may say, that what he was in the eye of the world, and the church, that he was in his own home. I know he had a battle to fight with self, as we all have, and once or twice I have seen some slight indications of a conflict; but evidently, long before I knew him, he had practically gained the victory, and had learned to walk in the steps of his Master, who "pleased not himself." He assumed no airs of superior devotion, made no profession of unusual elevation of character, never expressed himself in a sentimental or effusive way; but in his life, from day to day, there was plainly written this: "For me to live is Christ."

It is with great hesitation I send you these poor paragraphs; but as you have been kind enough to undertake this "labour of love," I could not but offer you a small tribute of admiration and affection from one who considers it an honour to be a son-in-law of one of the excellent of the earth.

Yours faithfully,

J. M. GIBSON."

BY THE REV. DR. STEVENSON,

BRIXTON, LONDON.

REV. J. WOOD,

MY DEAR SIR,

Feeling, as I do very deeply, the loss of my honoured friend, Dr. Wilkes, I should be glad to have the opportunity of bearing testimony to his singular worth, and of recording the impressions he made upon me, as a private friend and a spring of public influence.

Two things strike me as his main characteristics. One is

his almost preternatural energy; another, his power of easy self-adaptation. As to the first, it must have been obvious to everybody. It was simply unconquerable. Pain did not affect it. Age had to give up the attempt even to modify it. With limbs that no longer responded to the dictates of the indomitable will, and muscles that were often instruments of racking agony, his tireless energy enabled him to do as much work at an age unusually advanced as would have wearied many industrious men in the full prime of their powers. It was a fact that moved wonder and admiration, when he greeted one from the chair, out of which he could no longer rise unassisted, or from the carriage, which had become his only means of locomotion, with his frank, hilarious smile and his cheerful, ringing voice. This, too, continued to the end. When I paid my last visit to him, as I bent over his couch, and pressed my lips upon his brow, I shall never forget the fresh, cheerful tone with which he responded to Mrs. Wilkes' words, "It's Dr. Stevenson, my dear,"—words uttered in doubt as to whether, in his partial eclipse of consciousness, he had recognized his friend—with a rapid "Yes, yes, my dear, I know, I know." If ever man died as he had lived, keeping mental energy and hope till, and almost after, consciousness itself failed, that man was Dr. Wilkes.

In some men, energy is self-assertive and overbearing. In Dr. Wilkes it was exactly the reverse. It was united with a power of self-adaptation to the moods and temperaments of others, almost as wonderful as itself. I knew Dr. Wilkes twelve years. I have seen him during that time under circumstances of the most trying character. Yet, never once did he lose his temper, or in any way compromise his self-control. In his relations at home he was a perfect model of cheerful kindliness. This was the less surprising, however, in view of the noble and tender qualities of his honoured wife, and of the happy degree in which his daughters reflected his own attractive temperament. But if his home was happy, he was called

to take part in a public life which was marked by great vicissitudes. Church life did not always run quite smoothly, especially after his practised hand had ceased to guide the helm. My own relations to him were, at one time, of a delicate and difficult character. Yet was he always kind and wise, always ready to think good and not evil, always looking for the best and most generous solution of a difficulty. I never in my life received a harsh or hasty word from him, or was tempted to utter one to him. And in after days, when I was pastor of a church to most of whose members he had been pastor, and Principal of the College over which he had so long been Principal, and when he had taken the less prominent position of a private member of the church and a Professor in the College, the bond of mutual honour and affection grew, if possible, stronger and closer than ever. I attribute this fine power of adaptation to the characters and circumstances of others, not so much to a deliberate study of character as to a swift perception, which enabled him at a glance to see with whom he had to deal, and what would be the probable effect of their position on their feeling and action. He seemed to expect beforehand what men said and did. Once, and only once, do I remember his expressing surprise. A very bitter attack had been made upon him. Most men would have replied with warmth. Dr. Wilkes waited till his assailant was gone, and simply said,—"Astonishing!"

The gifts of Dr. Wilkes were many and varied. They had, however, a singular harmony one with another. This harmony was founded on their direct reference to practise as contrasted with speculation. His preaching affords one illustration of what I mean. He did not linger long over doctrinal discussion or even exposition. He passed rapidly forward to the practical aspects of the subjects which he treated. Earnest and devout as he was, I imagine that he was far less fascinated by those profound elements of the Gospel which connect it with the deeper and darker questions of all philosophic thought,

than by those which promised immediate usefulness. He was less anxious to have a complete theory of human life and destiny, than to bring men to the side of Christ and to make them good and pure. Hence arose a great catholicity of sympathy. He was indulgent to all reverent investigation, and looked without aversion at developments of doctrine which he did not himself share. A lack of reverence or of earnestness would have awakened his distrust, but no man had a truer tolerance for all the activities of devout thought. 'He had too keen a sense of the "things that cannot be shaken,' to doubt for a moment that they will hold their own. Yet he did not dogmatise as to what might need to be modified, though, for himself, he was content to remain in the belief of what, in his more active life, he had held and taught.

Quick and keen in intellect, gentle and kind in heart, not easily provoked, thinking no evil, bearing all things with noble cheerfulness, hoping all things good and true, rejoicing not in iniquity, but rejoicing in the truth, our dear Dr. Wilkes was a sunbeam in his family, in his circle of friendship, and in society generally. The city of his work and of his love knew his worth and unsparingly ackonwledged it; and to us who were admitted to his private friendship, his memory shines forever as a star in the firmament of heaven.

J. F. SIEVENSON.

BRIXTON, Sept., 1887.

Extracts from a Letter by the Rev. Charles Chapman, M.A. of Western College, Plymouth.

....."During the years I was in Montreal, I had more than ordinary opportunities of knowing Dr. Wilkes, and of forming an estimate of his character, not only in its public, but also in its social and private aspects. His home was as a second home to me, where I was ever welcome as a son with a father. He was one of the men in life whom I never feared, never was in doubt of, never needed to be on my guard against. All suspicion and distrust was banished from my heart. It never occurred to me that he could be saying one thing and meaning another, or that he was openly professing friendship while secretly acting along lines inconsistent with true friendship. ..... I saw him in his joys, and knew him well in deep sorrows. I was accustomed to meet him at the bier of dear friends, and amidst the joys of the marriage feast. We walked together, and compared thoughts of what would be the best course to adopt, on our way to the home of some erring member of the church who stood in need of joint pastoral remonstrance and entreaty. We privately compared thoughts in reference to measures deemed needful for the spiritual quickening of the church or the development of its organizations; and in the more critical seasons of church life we, without presuming to dictate to men capable of forming an independent judgment, opened heart to heart, and agreed as to the main lines of action. Looking back on that time, and free from the excitement natural to proximity of persons, I have never been conscious during my whole life of any more tender and trustful fellowship, than that realized in my relation to him. ..... In private intercourse with me, as in

church assemblies, he was sparing in words. His counsels were brief and to the point,—the result of shrewd observation of men and things. So quiet and self-possessed were his references to the matter in hand, that some might imagine that he never felt anything very deeply, but was uniform in his emotions amidst great and small events. This, however, would be a misreading of his nature. He never allowed extravagant language to escape his lips, nor did he give uncontrolled vent to emotion. He felt the impress of events, but always governed the expression of feeling, as though it were the maxim of life that God is in all things, and the issue is safe in His hands. He would never allow feeling to unfit him for action. In discussions on public questions he would often be silent and hold his judgment in reserve, not because of the trimmer's weakness that he might see how to fall in with the chief men of opposing parties, but because he held the conviction, based on a wide experience of human affairs, that there are elements of truth in all forms of opinion, and that the part of a judicious counsellor is to hold judgment in suspense till the elements of error have been eliminated by careful sifting, and the elements of truth are brought into such clear relief that all parties may recognize their presence. .....

I often observed in him, in the course of our church life, that he possessed the excellent faculty of not noticing many things that were said and done, and this in a quiet way that gave no offence; and then, by taking up some point of comparative indifference, he would create a diversion from critical and dangerous questions, and, by a steady process, at last lead up to the real point at issue, on which he would generally say a few sensible words which often set the matter at rest.

On many occasions I had the opportunity of meeting Dr. Wilkes in the homes of friends in Montreal, and there were few Protestant homes of any social prominence to which he was a stranger. On these occasions it was interesting to notice how thoroughly sociable he was with young and old, rich

and poor. He had the good, quiet habit of entering freely into the topics that were being discussed, provided they were not controversial, without assuming the monopoly of remark which his age and long and wise experience might be supposed to entitle him to. Generally he was not controversial in his disposition. He cared more to find out points of agreement than points of difference with others. The appearance of easy concession, which perhaps some persons might observe in him, was not founded on an indifference to truth or an indolent intellect; it was rather based on a moral principle, namely, that in social intercourse the main thing is to develop kindly feeling and not to arouse or encourage antagonism of opinion. The holy tone of his conduct and spirit in social circles was ever honoured and appreciated. As an illustration, I may mention one instance which occurred, I think, in the year 1875. Sometimes at the close of the day it was customary in social gatherings to have family worship, and if I happened to be present, he would usually suggest that we should divide it between us. On the occasion referred to, I have a vivid remembrance of the effect of his part of the worship. There was a large party assembled, and the host spoke to Dr. Wilkes about conducting family worship, and he at once said to me, "Now, will you read and I will pray." The worship passed devoutly, tenderly, full of true Christian feeling, causing some of us to feel how blessedly social joys may be blended with the deepest and holiest yearnings after God. At the close of the prayer, and before the guests could fully resume conversation, a gentleman, a French Liberal Catholic, a Q. C., and distinguished throughout Canada for his great abilities, came up to us where we were standing, and said to Dr. Wilkes, "Dr. Wilkes, I must say to you how much I have enjoyed your prayer. I really think that if I lived among such people as you are I should become pious." Knowing the man and his antecedents, so far as religious privileges were concerned, as, also, his daily associations, the candid state-

ment seemed to me to be a true index of the spiritual power of our venerable friend's devout heart and life, and an instance of what might be done in the world if, instead of harsh controversy, men could only be brought within the influence of true prayer."

IN MEMORY OF DR. WILKES.

By the Rev. Dr. Duff, Airedale College, Bradford.

Eighty years he lived! No wonder that he always seemed the Counsellor to us who, with lads' hearts still, have rounded forty. My story of him, and my knowledge, began over thirty years ago, and his counselling words are woven into every stage of my life since then. I can tell his story for a generation, if I only look along the years of my own generation.

1. It was thirty-one and thirty-two years ago that I used to see the postman hand in letters in queer yellow envelopes for my father. They came across the ocean to the Scottish home, and ever since then those buff envelopes have seemed to me a special symbol of Canada. The letters were addressed in the hand of Dr. Wilkes, so well and widely known; and that name meant the counsellor who helped to plan an emigration most momentous to me.

2. A Home Missionary field in the young townships—it was for that the enthusiastic counsellor was always drawing plans and drawing men. But the enthusiasm was so far-seeing that many a one would call it cool. "Never mind the church that is in your field! You are the Society's agent, not theirs," was the calm counsel to my dear old father, at the close of a memorable Sabbath when he had preached in Zion—from the wonderful old pulpit, long like a barricade, buttressed with twirls like a rococo gable. Those sermons were from a son of Zion, for my father had signed the call to "Mr. Wilkes" twenty years before; and now those sermons told his mother

church of his heart's desire, fulfilled in his work that was to begin on the morrow in the wide but quiet townships. "Never mind the church!" Wise counsel! Churches so heterogeneous, anomalous, willing but wilful, important but untrained, compel the question in a sensible soul, "Can this be the supreme organization for working godliness?" The counsellor could cheer on the churches by his "Manual on Independency," but his nature could always reserve those final judgments of common sense for constant cases which are the truest law. It was like him to hold a free hand for action; and it was fortunate, often, that there was so paternal and arbitrary a soul, with vigorous hand, in the days of laying foundations. One might often object and count his manner not natural in a Congregationalist; but it was natural to the life of him who shared much of the old English squire's build and heritage. The features are almost forgotten in England now, especially in Dr. Wilkes' native region of Birmingham; but read to-day that intense radical's, Sydney Smith's, speech *against* the ballot, and learn at once how the leading Englishman of sixty years ago was born and bred an oligarch, having a strangely intense reverence, withal, for the independent rights of the *coming* man.

3. The early reports of the Colonial Missionary Society tell quaint tales, romance-like, of travellings and visitings among the new lands and broad fields of Canada by the agents, who were mostly—"Mr. Wilkes." Twenty and more years later, I saw him on those visits, as he came, long expected, and eagerly welcomed, and spent a night or two beneath our roof. He would be cared for by my dear father all day in waggon or sleigh, on the road, and at the seven or more stations of the twenty miles long field; but in the house a gentler hand and very differently keen eye cared for the hearty hunger and the wearily needed rest. How strangely time moves. The old counsellor is at rest forever, and the gentle ministrant of long ago finds God's shelter from God's storms beneath the old

counsellor's quiet roof. Fitly too, for few others are left now of the little flock that invited him and welcomed him to St. Maurice Street fifty years ago. I was telling of the township visits nearly thirty years ago. Well I remember him, seated in the old home, listening to my mother's hopes and wonderings for her boys; and out of that hour of asking and giving counsel, flowed many a feature of the training years that followed.

4. I must run on and recall the counsels that became more personal. It was in my first University days, that by home counsel the steps were taken timidly, one afternoon round Latour Street, to the vestry. Welcomed, indeed, I was with my wish to be a member in Zion; and cheered wisely was I too, by the kindly words, and the information that another undergraduate was seeking admission likewise. The day came when we two stood one on either side of a maiden, that seemed to me a saintly spirit, as we three answered and followed the pastor's covenanting and counselling. My beloved companion, Lemuel Cushing, thou art gone! That maiden, too, is long gone before to welcome her kinsman, the aged pastor. They rest, but once they toiled nobly. Lead ye us on. From those hours in Zion vestry, and the counsels of the pastor there, grew gatherings and communings in the University Halls, that have never ceased since then; and their influence is working far and wide over many lands, and beyond the veil.

Time would fail to tell of the week-night Bible-class or Doctrine-class, its hymns which the pastor started, and its thoughtful impulses.

Physical counsel we got, as well as spiritual. When broken by overwork, it was in the vestry that the doctor I sought gave me counsel which was strength: "Away home to the townships for oxygen; then back to books and success."

5. He was not merely the pastor and preacher. The University ere long drew him to its Corporation Board, to counsel there as representative of the newly affiliated Congregational

College. The speech which he delivered on the next Convocation Day, as inaugural of the new affiliation, was an honour to all Congregationalists. It marked their power, seen in the power of one of them, to forget the follies which make Theology a denominational thing. He saw and said—the saying needed bravery—that Christian Theology must be simply the science or knowledge of all Christian religion, of which no denomination could have the monopoly; and much less could any have any slice or department as their own, or any facts or truths true for them and for no one else. He pleaded for a fellowship of Theological Colleges, or of teachers in one strong faculty, that would bless all men equally, like their Master. I think I see him now as I saw him cry, "Gentlemen, I may be exciting smiles at my Utopia;" but he feared not, at his first appearance on the University platform, to plead thus for scientific handling of Theology,—in other words, for Common Sense. The realization was far ahead, it is ahead still; but it is ahead, always nearer, and he saw it from afar. Far-sighted Counsellor he was, and truly liberal. That address ought to be published.

6. It was this far-sight, I think, which made him concentrate his care for Congregationalism in Montreal on one strong congregation with a strong pulpit, able to declare its free thought even to the most unwilling hearts in the city. That church has often secured freedom in operations which had otherwise been narrowly denominational. Fearlessly may I say this in respect of the French Canadian Missionary Society. I can speak from close intimacy with the honoured men who are not, I think, yet as enlightened in church methods as they will be, and as Congregationalists are,—noble men indeed, who yet think denominationalism is best, and who, therefore, have lifted that old Missionary ociety into the forms and control of one denomination. As long as Dr. Wilkes was to the fore, the Society was one of the many illustrations of the simple Christianity and entire undenominationalism of these Mis-

sions which Congregationalists strongly influence. This Society once stood parallel with the American Board, and the London Missionary Society, Dr. Wilkes was a leader in this simplicity. His far-sight was wise even in its limitation of strength to one strong Congregational pulpit. It is quite true that the day of that policy has passed, and the number of strong churches has increased already. While the policy of one church was a strong policy, it was not necessarily the only strong one. But its strength was well displayed in all those long years. Had there been other like-minded, strong-souled leaders, the other policy might have been proved strong also. It is for the men of to-day, who are manfully supporting several churches, to follow the steadfast bravery of the veteran leader, making each centre as strong as he made his.

7. His secret was certainly in his pulpit. When the Theological School was transplanted to Montreal, there fell from a wise and true preacher's lips the significant words,—"The College comes because the students must learn what preaching is." Certainly the older fashions were followed; yet with an individuality and force that made them all the preacher's own. A course preached during my college days drew large audiences and moved them deeply. It was upon "The Bible." Not seldom was it said by one or another good man: "Some one is praying for our pastor."

Like his preaching was his platform power. That he held to the last. What it was, those know who used to crowd the Great St. James St. Wesleyan church on the great nights of the "Anniversary Week," in January. His eloquence was that of the debater, not that of the orator. I never heard him in sublime flights of impassioned picture or apostrophe; but I have seen him buttonhole an audience, and chain them, and win them till, to a man, they would have declared his proposals absolutely perfect. Sublime speaker he was not, and yet there often stole a pathos through his tones that filled the hearers, and held them rapt even as more impassioned speech is wont to do.